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A STATISTICAL, COMMERCIAL, AND
Political Description
OF VENEZUELA, TRINIDAD,
MARGARITA, AND TOBAGO.

8vo. pp. 480.—Price 15s.

[Of this useful and instructive Volume it is impossible to speak too highly. The original Author, M. Lavaysse, is a philanthropist and a philosopher; and the Translator has not only done him justice, but has enriched the work with many valuable notes and illustrations.]

DUNDAS'S PLEDGE, THROUGH PICTON,
IN 1797.

WITH regard to the hopes you entertain of raising the spirits of those persons with whom you are in correspondence, towards animating the inhabitants to resist the oppressive authority of their government, I have little more to say, than that they may be certain, that, whenever they are in that disposition, they may receive at your hands all the succours to be expected from his Britannic Majesty, be it with forces, or with arms and ammunition to any extent; with the assurance that the views of his Britannic Majesty go no further than to secure to them their independence, without pretending to any sovereignty over their country, nor even to interfere in the privileges of the people nor in their political, civil, or religious rights."

ACTUAL BRITISH POLICY.

Although the Editor is willing to draw a veil over the circumstances connected with the sad story of Miranda and his companions in arms, history will not be silent on the fate of that brave but unfortunate general. Suppressing those feelings of regret or indignation to which a reference to such events irresistibly give rise, he trusts, though late, a recollection of them may stimulate the friends and followers of Mr. Pitt, to adopt measures of atonement, while they are yet in office, and before the required succours proceed from others, who are much less deeply interested in the existing struggle than ourselves.

Notwithstanding the disastrous result of our first feeble efforts in favour of the
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patriot cause in Venezuela, they were still anxious to avail themselves of British protection, and no greater proof of this desire can be adduced, than the famous letter addressed to our venerable sovereign, by the Junta of Caraccas, on the 1st of June, 1810, in which, amongst other passages, those unacquainted with the secret springs and tortuous policy of modern statesmen, would naturally suppose that the following might have produced some effect.—"Great Britain by her maritime power, by her political influence, and by the philanthropic views which direct her, is the nation that appears called upon to complete the grand work of confederating the scattered sections of America, and to cause order, concord, and rational liberty, to reign therein; and we may venture to say, that nothing would be more worthy of Great Britain, more worthy of the wise government, as well as congenial to the character and personal virtues of your Majesty; and that, amongst the many transcendant traits which already adorn the history of your memorable reign, none would render this era more brilliant to the eyes of posterity, than the one to which we here allude."

To the above eloquent appeal, no answer whatever was returned! We had already, in defiance of every previous engagement, coalesced with the selfish regency of Cadiz, and guaranteed the Colonies to Spain. It is needless minutely to recapitulate the results; but how can the impartial observer, who reflects on subsequent events, refrain from deploring that any circumstances, however urgent, could have induced us to abandon those ill-fated provinces? While, however, a war of extermination, scarcely equalled in the annals of mankind, and in which several hundred thousand human lives have been already sacrificed, has desolated them, we are gleaming the reward of our fatal policy, in the loss of innumerable advantages on the one hand, and the basest ingratitude on the other, from a prince, who has done more to render the kingly power odious and unpopular in Europe, than two thirds of his imperial and royal contemporaries!

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But, though ministers should persevere in the present system, which they have so many motives for abandoning, surely there is nothing to prevent the British merchants,—a body so often foremost in acts of liberality, from attending to the appeal made to their humanity on one side, and the prospect of immense advantages held out on the other? Unhappily, the policy of the cabinet and interests of the merchant are but too frequently separated, nor were they ever more at variance than in this instance. Will it, however, be denied, that many capitalists of this country, are in the daily habit of employing money less advantageously, and with an infinitely smaller chance of a profitable return, than if appropriated to securing the independence of unexceptionably one of the most fertile and productive regions on earth? Well might the Abbé de Pradt, to whom public gratitude is pre-eminently due, for his meritorious efforts on the subject of South America, during the last twenty years, exclaim, “Let us not dispute the fact, but candidly confess that, as yet, America is only discovered in name and geographically. The treasures it contains are still buried riches, which its freedom alone can discover to the Old World: when we yield to the contemplation of those blessings which the independence of this immense continent will overwhelm the universe, the imagination is sterile to conceive, and language too weak for their description!”

GENERAL EUROPEAN POLICY.

The late Congress at Aix-la-Chapelle, from the labours of which so many benefits were anticipated by some people, was also to have arranged the affairs of South America, and thrown that vast continent open to the industry and commerce of the whole world. But what was the result of its deliberations on that vitally important subject? The august members separated without one solitary measure calculated to inspire the oppressed colonists with hope, or change the infatuated policy of Ferdinand! What a humiliating reflection, that those who had so often boasted of re-establishing peace on such a solid foundation, should imply their inefficiency to complete the beneficent work, by leaving an immense and fertile continent a prey to war, rapine, and persecution!

When the future historian of our times sits down to record the proceedings of this assemblage, it must be truly painful for him to state that, with such a glorious opportunity of performing acts of real

magnanimity, and restoring their lost popularity, as no other Congress ever possessed, its measures were exclusively confined to an act of necessary duty, that of withdrawing the foreign armies from France, concerting the best means of adding to their power, and increasing their territories!

Would it not have been more conducive to the interests of humanity, and beneficial to themselves, had those sovereigns opened the vast continent of South America to the industry and enterprise of their starving subjects, giving it that independence which must eventually triumph, even without their aid? Ought they to have been indifferent to the laudable efforts of the philanthropic Owen to ameliorate the condition of the species; much less deaf and insensible to the appeal of the virtuous Count de Las Casas in favour of his persecuted but once powerful master!

Although the advocates of injustice and arbitrary power in this country affect to forget, and are silent on our treatment of Napoleon, the hero of Tilsit, of Elau, and Esling, the conqueror of Vienna, the preserver of Frederick William's throne, the sworn friend of the magnanimous Alexander, finally of the Emperor and former enemy of England, who claimed British hospitality when overtaken by misfortune;—that treatment is not the less inhuman and impolitic, or likely to become a serious item of accusation against its authors and abettors, when the day of civil and political retribution arrives!

THE WELSERS.

Previous to my giving a description of the province of Venezuela, it may be proper to present a short historical view of the government of the Welsers, bankers at Augsburg, to whom Charles V. had ceded the country, as an hereditary fief of the crown of Spain. The young colony was then governed by a prudent and worthy chief, Don Juan Ampues, who had founded the town of Coro in 1529, the most ancient establishment in Venezuela, except Cumana, built in 1520 by Gonzalo Ocampo, and which did not form a part of that government.

The conditions on which this important cession was made, were as follows:

1. All the countries comprised between Cape de la Vela and Maracapaná, with the privilege of making conquests, and extending their possessions towards the south, were ceded to the new company.

2. The Welsers obliged themselves to found

found two towns, and three forts, in the space of three years.

3. They were to equip four vessels for the conveyance of three hundred Spaniards and fifty Germans, and it was allowed to them by this charter, to work all the mines of the New World for their advantage, or that of their assigns.

4. The emperor gave the title of Adelantado to the person whom the Welsers should appoint to the government of that colony.

5. The imperial cedula permitted the Welsers to make slaves of such Indians as should refuse to become their vassals.

It is true the Emperor Charles V. appointed a priest, Father Montesillo, to be the protector of the Indians; but some historians have given to this precaution the term of a refinement in hypocrisy. From whatever motive it arose, Montesillo found it more profitable to participate in the plunder of the Welsers, than fulfil the duties of his pious mission. The agents of those bankers behaved, in that devoted country, as commercial companies have always done, to which the sovereignty of distant regions has been confided. To found durable establishments, or encourage agriculture and the arts, has never been the noble ambition of such men. Stimulated by the desire of accumulating riches speedily, and returning to enjoy them in their native country, the Welsers began by exactions and pillage, and were not long in familiarising themselves with murder, rapine, and cruelty. Such was the conduct of Alfinger, the first Welser agent, and of his deputy, Sailler, who arrived at Coro in 1528, at the head of four hundred adventurers. Scarcely had they taken possession of the government, when they enquired where the mines of gold and silver were; but, when Alfinger was informed that the country did not contain any, and that the means of enriching himself were not so easy as he had been assured in Spain, he sallied forth into the interior of the colony, at the head of a detachment, leaving Sailler to command at Coro. While on this predatory excursion, he hunted the unoffending Indians, as if they were wild beasts, applying the torture to, or exterminating, all those who did not bring him a certain quantity of gold-dust on the appointed days; for, although mines of gold had not been discovered then, yet it was found in the beds of some rivers. The colonists, who were a mixture of Spanish and Indian blood, were no better treated by Alfinger. He made incursions on their

plantations, robbing all who fell in his power, and murdering any one that opposed his progress: he also sold the Indians to whoever would buy them. This wretch, no less cruel than insatiable, lost a great many troops in the first year of his government; but the Welsers took care to send him recruits occasionally: at length the relentless assassin was massacred by the Indians in 1531, in a valley that has ever since borne his name, *El Vallé de Misser Ambrosio*, the Valley of Ambrosio, for that was the monster's name. The Welsers had sent another German to succeed Alfinger in case of death: this man, instead of roaming about armed, like his predecessor, led a tranquil life at Coro, gorging himself with pillage, which never ceased to be exacted, as in the time of the former governor.

In 1533, the Welsers sent out Spirra, with the title of governor. He had under his orders four hundred men, Spaniards or natives of the Canary islands. When he had united his troops to those which were in the colony, he divided them into three bands, which penetrated the country to plunder it, he being at the head of one of those detachments. This expedition lasted five years: Spirra returned to Coro in 1539, bringing back but eighty of the four hundred men whom he had taken with him. It was on this journey that the story of the fabulous country of El Dorado originated. It is probable that the Indians invented this fable, to attract their greedy tyrants into the large forests of their country, that they might perish the more easily. Spirra died at Coro of fatigue and chagrin. The court of Spain had sent a bishop named Bastidas to Venezuela in 1536. At the death of Spirra, the audiencia of Saint Domingo, which at that time had the superintendence of the other colonies, conferred the government on this bishop: Philip de Urré, a general officer, was appointed to command the troops. Those two men shewed themselves in every thing worthy of succeeding to the agents of the Welsers.

The Bishop Bastidas commenced by ordering an officer named Pedro Limpias to go on an expedition against the Indians of the lake Maracaibo, on whom it was expected a large contribution in gold might be raised; but the result having produced only a small quantity, the people were sold as slaves, when all hope was lost of procuring by their means a greater supply of that metal.

Bastidas then sent Philip de Urré in search of the far-famed El Dorado. Af-

ter having pillaged and assassinated all who fell into his hands during the four years the expedition lasted, Urré returned to Coro, without discovering the chimera, reduced to the last stage of misery, and after having lost nearly all the accomplices of his crimes. On his arrival he was assassinated by Limpías and Carvajal, who, by means of false papers, seized on the government of the colony, whilst Bastidas had been sent to fill the episcopal chair of Porto Rico. Carvajal founded the town of Tucuyo, the only establishment formed in the colony during the time it remained in the power of the Welsers.

At length, the eloquent voice of the immortal Las Casas succeeded in asserting the rights of suffering humanity at the court of Charles V. That monarch reclaimed those powers which none ought ever to alienate, especially in favour of commercial companies: he resumed the actual sovereignty of Venezuela, and the ferocious agents of the Welsers were expelled. Grant Heaven, that those who now exercise a tyranny no less cruel and diabolical, may, ere long, experience the fate of the Welsers and their agents!

THE ABORIGINAL INDIAN TRIBES.

Even to this day, the Indian tribes of the New World, so far from being ameliorated in their condition, have become completely depraved, and are almost extinct in the neighbourhood of European settlements, particularly the British and French, which have not subjected them to their laws. Since the abolition of the Jesuits, drunkenness, licentiousness, and the small-pox, have destroyed nearly all the communities that lived in the vicinity of the French and English possessions, in the two Americas. At Cayenne, for example, more than sixty thousand Indians were counted in 1720; and fifteen years after they had lost their Jesuit missionaries, that is to say, in 1777, there remained only four or five thousand: in 1809, there were scarcely two hundred!

It is not much more than ten years since the savages of Brazil were still subjected to a kind of feudal system: the native population, far from becoming annihilated, as in the neighbourhood of the British and French possessions, had increased, as well as in the Spanish colonies. At that period, M. de Souza Coutinho, governor of Grand Pará, liberated, by order of his government, two hundred thousand Indians, all cultivators, carpenters, cabinet-makers, masons, &c. in that province only. If the ancestors of those savages had been abandoned to

themselves, and not collected together under the care of missionaries and European chiefs, the vicinity of the white colonists, of whom they contract only the vices, when they are not held in subjection by a vigilant and steady police, would, no doubt, have reduced them to as small a number as those who vegetate, and are on the point of extinction, in French Guiana and Canada.

FIRST INSURRECTION.

At the time that Great Britain took possession of Trinidad, great discontents had prevailed in the province of Caraccas for some months, owing to the exactions recently committed by the officers of the customs, and the vexations practised by a police magistrate.

During these occurrences, three Spanish state prisoners arrived at La Guayra, condemned to imprisonment for life in one of the forts. These were men of great talents: one of them, Picornel, had been surnamed by his countrymen, the Spanish Mirabeau. They availed themselves of the public discontent, to interest the commander and officers of the garrison in their fate. Fahrenheit's thermometer is generally at ninety degrees in the casemates in which they were ordered to be confined, a circumstance that excited the pity of the garrison. The commander, therefore, took upon himself to allow them the fort as their prison. The eloquence of Picornel, and the singular talents of his two companions, gave rise to the esteem and friendship of all those who saw them: the inhabitants of the neighbourhood obtained leave to visit the fort. On perceiving every one, even to the priests and monks, exasperated against the administrators of the colony, the triumvirate formed the bold project of delivering the country from the yoke of its oppressors. Don Joseph de España, corregidor of Macuto, and Don Manuel Gual, captain of engineers, both natives of Caraccas, undertook to organize this revolution.

The prisoners, however, finding that the conspirators were not sufficiently forward in putting their project into execution, and fearing a discovery, made their escape: soon after, one of them became mad and died. The 14th July, 1797, was the day fixed by España and Gual, for raising the standard of independence: those conspirators were not Catalines; they were the most distinguished men in the colony for their talents, virtues, fortune, and even their birth. Their object was to possess themselves of the heads of the government, to keep them

as hostages, and treat them with the greatest kindness, especially the captain-general Carbonel, who detested, and had even endeavoured, by every means in his power, to put an end to the crying vexations committed by certain administrators: their plan was imitated in all points by the congress of Venezuela, when it declared itself independent of the Junta of Cadiz, in 1811. On the 18th July, 1797, in the evening, a conspirator, seized with fear, went to the cathedral, and rang one of the bells. It is thus that a criminal acts in Spain, after having committed murder, in order that a priest may go and give him absolution, and secure impunity for him. This man required they should conduct him to the archbishop, to whom he promised to reveal the conspiracy, on condition that the captain-general and the audiencia would guarantee his life. What he demanded was granted. Orders were suddenly issued to arrest all the persons he accused: España and Gual, who were at La Guayra, had timely notice to escape; which they effected in a boat to Curaçoa, from whence they went to Trinidad, where I became acquainted with them. The other conspirators, to the number of seventy-two, were arrested and imprisoned.

Seven of the accused were condemned to die: one of them for contumacy. Five were executed at La Guayra in the beginning of May, 1799; and on the 8th of the same month, Don Joseph de España was drawn and quartered at Caraccas.—“Conducted to execution,” says a celebrated writer, whom I shall quote on this occasion, “he saw the approach of death with the courage of a man born for great actions.” Thirty-three of the other prisoners were condemned to the galleys: there remained in prison thirty-two, against whom there were no proofs: they were sent to Spain. Charles IV. pardoned them in 1802, and gave them employments, on condition that they should never return to their own country.

I was acquainted with España; he had one of those frank and open countenances, but pensive and full of sensibility, such as I have sometimes seen, though very rarely so fine, in the New World;—a primordial type, of which scarcely any traces remain, except in the Pyrenees, Switzerland, the mountains of Scotland, and in some elevated regions in which the inhabitants have not been much intermingled with their neighbours. He was descended from an illustrious Biscayan family, transplanted to

America. His son went to Guadaloupe, and from thence to France, where he has found friends and a second country.

MIRANDA.

General Miranda was invited by thousands of letters to go and place himself at the head of the insurgents, in the year 1805. He appeared on the coast of Porto Cavello in the month of May 1806; but the vessel that conveyed him was repulsed by the Spanish gun-boats. He repaired to Trinidad in the following month, and departed from it on the 1st of August, accompanied by about one hundred and eighty volunteers, escorted by a sloop of war from the squadron of Admiral Cochrane. Six days afterwards he landed at Coro, where he remained twelve days with his little troop, without being attacked by Colonel Salis, who was posted at four leagues from him. Miranda found the people of that thinly inhabited part of the province very little disposed for a revolution, and seeing himself abandoned by the British admiral, who had promised him powerful aid, he decided on returning to Trinidad, where he was the object of the most cruel railery, both to the English generals, who had deceived him, and of those persons who had previously lavished the meanest flatteries on him, when they expected to see him soon become the head of a new state. I shall say nothing of the events that have since elevated him to the place of supreme chief of the United States of Venezuela, because I was not there when that revolution broke out; but I know that the persecutions exercised against the French, when that state was governed by the agents of the Junta of Cadiz, have ceased, since the authority has passed into the hands of General Miranda and the independent party.

VENEZUELA.

This country is bounded on the north by the Caribbean sea, and extends southward from St. Joseph de Rio Negro, (where the Portuguese possessions begin,) which is in the first degree of northern latitude, to Cape de la Vela, in 12° 10'; and from east to west, from the 62° of west longitude, to 76° 50'. French and Dutch Cayenne form its eastern limits, and the kingdom of New Grenada, or Santa Fe de Bogota, bounds it on the west. A chain of mountains, which stretch from the Andes de Bogota, meander across the country, first in a northern direction, then towards the east, and at length incline as they approach the coast. The Island of Trinidad,

dad, which is at the end of this chain, and that of Tobago, to the eastward of Trinidad, are supposed to be vestiges of the great catastrophe which has detached them from it. To the south and north of the mountains are vast plains, which extend to the east and west, and are terminated at the foot of the Andes de Bogota.

The country is intersected in every direction by navigable rivers of various sizes. All those which are eastward of Cape de Paria, the Guarapiche, and the small rivers that flow into the gulf of Paria excepted, are lost in the Orinoco. Many of its tributaries are more considerable than some distinguished rivers in Europe: the Rio Apure runs nearly one hundred and twelve leagues, and is navigable for large vessels for more than sixty leagues from its confluence with the Orinoco. In latitude $7^{\circ} 32'$ N. it has four thousand six hundred and thirty-two fathoms in width, and is not impeded by islands.

This country contains a large lake, that of Maracaybo, some gulfs, and a most interesting lake for naturalists, —that of Tacarigua.

The lake Tacarigua, to which the Spaniards have given the name of Valencia, is situated at the southern extremity of the valley of Aragoa, and at twenty French leagues from Caraccas. It is elevated twelve hundred feet above the level of the sea, and has almost the shape of an oblong square: its length is thirteen leagues from east to west, and it is two leagues broad in almost its whole extent. The contrast of the desert and barren mountains of Guigue, with the hills and valleys opposite, ornamented with the most beautiful tropical vegetation, and even the fields of corn and fruit-trees of Europe, and the vicinity of the little town of Valencia, agreeably reminds an European of the lake of Geneva and Vevay.

The shape of the lake Maracaybo is an oval, of fifty leagues in length by thirty in breadth, which makes a circumference of about a hundred and fifty leagues: this lake is situated between the lowest part of the mountains of Santa Martha, and near the place where the chain begins, which is detached from the Andes de Bogota: it communicates with a gulf of half its size, by a passage of about two leagues broad and eight long. Thus this lake forms a little Mediterranean. It receives the tribute of more than twenty rivers, and a great number of

rivulets that run down the two ridges of mountains between which it is situated. The most considerable are the Subio and the Matacau; for the Souba and the Cuervos, though wide at their mouths, are only creeks fed by torrents, into which the waters of the lake recoil during winter.

POPULATION.

According to M. Depons, the population of the five provinces of Venezuela, Varinas, Maracaybo, Cumana, and Guyana, amounted to only seven hundred and twenty-eight thousand souls in 1802. In his calculation the whites composed two-tenths of this population, the slaves three, the free people of colour four, and the Indians one-tenth. Agreeably to this calculation, there ought to have been two hundred and eighteen thousand four hundred slaves in those provinces, whilst, in reality, there were not fifty-eight thousand.

This is the manner in which M. Depons distributes the population:

Venezuela and Varinas	. 500,000 souls.
Maracaybo	. 100,000
Cumana and Margarita	. 94,000
Spanish Guayana	. 34,000

Total 728,000

Caraccas, the metropolis of the province of Venezuela while under the Spanish yoke, was founded in 1566 by Diego de Losada: it is situated in the delicious valley of Arragon. Its elevation above the level of the sea is three thousand feet, according to the observations made by M. de Humboldt at the Trinity church. Although it is in $10^{\circ} 30'$ of latitude, and 67° of west longitude, this elevation, added to some other local causes, suffices to give it, during the winter, the temperature of our spring, and in that season the heat is very seldom so great as in our summers. It is the residence of the captain-general, of the intendant, of the audiencia or supreme administrative and judicial tribunal, of an archbishop, a chapter, a tribunal of the inquisition, (abolished by the present government,) and an university; it has somewhat of a triangular shape, and is about two thousand toises long on each of its sides. Like all other towns in the New World, its streets are drawn at right angles, and are rather wide. Being built on an unequal surface, whatever Caraccas wants in regularity, it gains in picturesque effect: many of the houses have terraced roofs, others

others are covered with bent tiles; there are many that have only a ground-floor; the rest have but one story more: they are built either of brick or of earth well pounded, and covered with stucco, of an architecture sufficiently solid, elegant, and adapted to the climate. Many of them have gardens in their rear, which is the reason that this town has an extent equal to an European one that would contain a hundred thousand persons. Four beautiful streams, that traverse it, contribute to its coolness and cleanliness, and give it an air of animation which is not found in towns deprived of running water. As in some towns of the Alps and Pyrenees, each householder in Caraccas has the invaluable advantage of having in his house a pipe of running and limpid water, which does not prevent all the squares, and almost all the streets, from having public fountains. In general, there is much luxury and gilding in the decorations of the houses of wealthy persons; and, among all, more cleanliness and comfort than in Spain. This town does not possess any public edifice remarkable for its beauty and size, with the exception of the church of *Alta Gracia*, built at the expense of the people of colour in Caraccas and its vicinity.

The population of the town of Caraccas was forty-seven thousand two hundred and twenty-eight persons of all colours, in 1807: it amounted to fifty thousand souls in 1810. Three hundred and forty-six thousand seven hundred and seventy-two persons of all colours then composed the population of the other towns and the province of Caraccas, properly speaking, which makes a total of 496,772 inhabitants.

NAME.

Venezuela is the national name adopted at present by the confederated provinces, and Caraccas is their metropolis: the province of Venezuela has taken the name of province of Caraccas. This province is bounded on the west by the sea, on the north-west by that of Maracaybo, on the north by that of Cumana, and to the east and south-east by that of Varinas.

LA GUYRA.

The commercial port of the province of Caraccas is La Guyra: it is a bay open to all winds, and an unsafe anchorage in stormy weather; but this port has the advantage of being only five leagues from Caraccas. La Guyra is built on the side of a mountain, which, in this climate, adds to the heat of the atmosphere: from the beginning of April

to the month of November, Fahrenheit's thermometer is usually at ninety degrees; and, from the beginning of November to the end of March, it is generally at eighty-five or eighty-six. The humidity of the climate, added to the heat, produce annually inflammatory fevers, which degenerate, in twenty-four or thirty-six hours, into putrid fevers, that are chiefly detrimental to those who are newly arrived from Europe and the cold regions of America; for those who are seasoned to the climate, are seldom attacked, though they do not enjoy a good state of health there.

This town is badly built, but tolerably well fortified: it had a population of seven thousand souls in 1807, comprising a garrison of eight hundred men. There is but one church in it, and the rector is also chaplain of the garrison. La Guyra had not a municipal administration or cabildo, before the revolution: like the greater part of the other towns in this country, it was governed by the commander of the fortress, who united in his person the civil and military authority; but there was an appeal from his sentences to the royal audiencia of Caraccas.

VALENCIA.

The population of Valencia, which was only about six thousand five hundred persons in 1801, was more than ten thousand in 1810. The inhabitants are nearly all Creoles, the offspring of ancient Biscayan and Canary families. There is great industry and comfort in this town. It is as large as an European town of twenty-four to twenty-five thousand souls, because the greater part of the houses have only a ground-floor, and many of them have gardens. Fifty years ago, its inhabitants passed for the most indolent in the country: they all pretended to descend from the ancient conquerors, and could not conceive how it was possible for them to exercise any other function than the military profession, or cultivate the land, without degrading themselves. Thus they lived in the most abject misery, on a singularly fertile soil. Their ideas have since completely changed: they have applied themselves to agriculture and commerce, and the grounds in the neighbourhood are now well cultivated. Valencia is the centre of a considerable commerce with Caraccas and Porto Cavello.

CORO.

The fortunate situation of Coro for trading with the neighbouring islands, and particularly with Porto Rico and St. Domingo, and not chance, as M. Depons has

has asserted, caused its site to be chosen for the first settlement which the Spaniards founded on this part of Terra Firma.

The environs of Coro are barren; but, at three leagues from the town, are hills, valleys, and plains, of some fertility. This town is situated on the isthmus of Paragoana, whose inhabitants lead a pastoral life, occupying themselves entirely with the care of their flocks. Ten thousand persons of all colours, among whom there are scarcely two hundred slaves, form the population of the town. They still hold a considerable trade with Curaçoa, in cattle, hides, and indigo, and even in cochineal, which last article comes from the district of Carora. According to the deposito, the town of Coro is in $11^{\circ} 9'$ north latitude, and $69^{\circ} 35'$ west longitude.

LAS CASAS.

Bartholomew de Las Casas, Bishop of Chiapa in Mexico, was born of a noble family in Seville, A.D. 1469, according to some historians, and in 1474, according to others. At the age of nineteen he went to St. Domingo with his father Antonio de Las Casas, who accompanied Christopher Columbus in his first voyage to the New World. On his return to Spain, he adopted the ecclesiastical profession, and afterwards entered into the fraternity of Dominicans, in order to become a missionary for the conversion of the Indians. In 1533, he lived at the convent of St. Dominic, in the island of St. Domingo, where he occupied himself in preaching the gospel to the Indians, and humanity to their insatiable and ferocious tyrants. The most faithful and impartial historian of that period, Oviedo Valdes, a Spanish officer, who passed nearly all his life in America, informs us that there was, in 1519, an insurrection of the Indians, caused by a Spaniard having violated the wife of the cacique Don Henry, who had embraced Christianity. This cacique having in vain demanded justice on the ravisher of his wife, from Peter de Vadillo, lieutenant of the Admiral Jacomes Columbus, retired with his people to the mountains of Beoruko, from whence he made war against the Spaniards for nearly fourteen years. Peace was re-established in 1533, and was principally the work of the missionary Las Casas.

Previous to entering the order of Dominicans, he had presented to Charles V. several memorials in favour of the unhappy Indians. The offers he made for mitigating their fate having been useless, he projected the founding of a colony, on

principles very different from those which his countrymen practised. He obtained leave from the emperor to be sent to Cumana in the quality of governor. Having arrived at Porto Rico in the beginning of 1519, with three hundred Castilian labourers, a short time afterwards he went to Cumana, to establish his colonists there. Convinced that his countrymen must have been held in horror by the natives, he invented the mode of distinguishing his colonists by a particular dress, decorated with a white cross, in order that they might not be confounded with other Spaniards. To gain the affection of the natives, by acting according to the benevolent spirit of the gospel, and respecting their persons and properties, was the plan of Las Casas, and the worthy men who accompanied him. Unfortunately, a short time before his arrival at Cumana, some Spanish pirates, who took the name of Conquistadores, had made incursions on the coast of Trinidad, Venezuela, and Cumana, from whence they carried off the Indians, whilst they bartered with and made feasts for them. The Indians revenged themselves by exterminating all the Spaniards whom they could seize. When Las Casas arrived at Cumana with his followers, Gonzalo de Ocampo, who had been sent there by the governor of St. Domingo in the capacity of military commander, refused to acknowledge his authority. Las Casas, after having placed his men in a fort surrounded with palisades, went to St. Domingo, in order to inform the governor-general of the Indies of the conduct and rebellion of Ocampo. That officer caused the natives to rise *en masse*, by his exactions, treachery, and cruelties; and, as they could not believe there were worthy men among the Spaniards, they attacked the companions of Las Casas, as well as the satellites of Ocampo, and massacred all those who were not able to save themselves in the small island of Cubagua.

There is an absurd accusation which has long weighed heavily on the memory of Las Casas, from the sole assertion of Herrera, who has written the History of the New World, with great talent, no doubt, but with incorrectness and partiality: he accuses Las Casas himself of having advised the Spaniards to enter into the negro slave-trade, in order to substitute them for the Indians, working the mines, &c. The ex-senator GREGOIRE, formerly Bishop of Blois, has victoriously refuted this calumny, in a tract entitled

titled *An Apology for B. de las Casas*, inserted in the fourth volume of the *Transactions of the Class of Moral and Political Sciences of the Institute*. Like him, I have consulted all the Spanish and Portuguese writers of that period, as well as the English, who have written on commerce, and it results from this examination, that the accusers of the Bishop of Chiapa, Raynal, De Pauw, Bryan Edwards, &c. and even the illustrious Robertson, have all written on the faith of Herrera, or on that of Father Charlevoix, who, whilst he wrote on the subject of the Spanish colonies, merely translates Herrera, without quoting him. Herrera wrote thirty years after the death of Las Casas, and he displays much enmity to that great man. He quotes no public act, no document, in favour of his accusation: not one of the writers who were contemporaries of Las Casas said a word of it, though many of them were his enemies, and had endeavoured to render him odious and contemptible.

In short, there exist of Las Casas, in the library of Mexico, three volumes of manuscripts in folio, of which there is a copy in the library of the Academy of Madrid. These are his memoirs, his official and familiar letters, and other political and theological works. So far from finding, in all those writings, a word from whence it might be inferred that he had recommended the slavery of the negroes to be substituted for that of the Indians, it is seen that, in three or four places where he had occasion to mention the negro slaves, he commiserated their sufferings, as he did those of the Indians.

Las Casas was a theologian, publicist, and distinguished historian: he has been accused of exaggeration in the recitals he made of the crimes committed by the conquerors of the New World. The Abbé Clavigero, at the end of the second volume of his *History of Mexico*, seems to be astonished that unreserved credit is given to the relation of Las Casas; and yet he did not abstain from retracing, throughout his whole history, the cruelties and injustice of Cortes, Alvarado, and the other Spanish chiefs. He represents Mexico, Tlascala, and the neighbouring states, as very populous at the time of the conquest. Clavigero agrees on this point with Cortes, who wrote to Charles V. that he had subjected to his arms, and united to his crown, states more populous, and larger cities, than his states and cities in Spain: which has caused the learned and judicious Count Carli to say, in his *American Letters*,

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that nothing more fully proves the fidelity of Las Casas's recitals, than those of Cortes, the other Spanish commanders, and of Clavigero himself; since the indigenous population was reduced to such a small number of individuals fifty years after the conquest, and it is almost extinct in the Antilles.

Las Casas, after having passed fifty years in the New World, and traversed the ocean twelve or thirteen times, to plead the cause of the Indians, in Spain, renounced his bishopric, and returned, in 1551, to his native country, where he died, after having immortalized himself by his beneficence, and the practice of every virtue.

The bishop's descendant, Count Emmanuel de Las Casas, already well known to the British public, is every way worthy of his glorious ancestor, whether viewed in the amiable privacy of domestic life, or in the more distinguished sphere of politics and literature. If any difference of opinion can exist, as to the policy adopted by the ministers of England towards Napoleon, or the ignominious treatment our once formidable enemy has experienced from those in whose power he placed himself when the hour of misfortune arrived, no one can be insensible to the heroic constancy which has uniformly actuated the count's conduct towards his fallen master. The impartial of our own days, and future historians, will record, to the unfading honour of this truly virtuous man, that, living in a period of almost unprecedented political profligacy, when disinterestedness and consistency in statesmen had nearly ceased to be considered as virtues, Count de Las Casas was amongst the solitary few who redeemed the degraded character of the times, by his unshaken attachment to the sovereign whom he had acknowledged from principle, and which, instead of diminishing, adversity only tended to increase.

CUMANA.

According to M. Depons, the population of the town of Cumana was twenty-four thousand persons, in 1803. When I was there, in 1807, it amounted to twenty-eight thousand and upwards; and, at the end of 1810, it had increased to thirty thousand inhabitants, almost all industrious and laborious. M. Depons also states, that the population of the united provinces of Cumana, or New Andalusia, and of New Barcelona, was then only eighty thousand souls, including that of the capital. But the statements I read on the spot, in 1807, declared this

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population

population to be ninety-six thousand persons.

The town of Cumana has two parish churches, and two convents for men; one belonging to the Dominicans, and the other to the Franciscans. I had occasion to be acquainted with the friars of those two convents during my stay there in 1807, and I found them very worthy characters, liberal and enlightened men, strangers to all ideas of intolerance and persecution.

There is no edifice in Cumana which strikes you by its magnificence. This town has a theatre, much smaller than that of Caraccas, and constructed on the same plan: it would be suffocating to be in a theatre built in the European fashion; besides, it rains still more rarely at Cumana than at Caraccas. The actors of Cumana are people of colour, who do not declaim in their parts, but merely recite them with a most tiresome monotony.

Bull-feasts, cock-fighting, and rope-dancing, are the amusements most frequented by the inhabitants of this town and the rest of the province. There was no town-clock in Cumana four years ago: while M. de Humboldt was in this town, in 1806, he constructed a very fine sundial there.

Cumana is in $10^{\circ} 37'$ N. latitude, and $64^{\circ} 10'$ west longitude: its climate is very hot, the elevation of the town above the sea level being only fifty-three feet. Fahrenheit's thermometer usually rises to ninety, and sometimes even to ninety-five degrees, from the month of June until the end of October. In that season it seldom descends to 80° during the night; the sea-breeze tempers the heat of the climate, which is otherwise very healthy. From the commencement of November to the end of March, the heats are not so great; the thermometer is then between 82° and 84° in the day-time, and generally falls to 77° and even 75° during the night. There is scarcely ever any rain in the plain in which Cumana is situated, though it rains frequently in the adjacent mountains. The hygrometer of Deluc is commonly at fifty degrees there during the winter, and marks the utmost dryness from the beginning of November to the beginning of June.

Cumana is built at the foot of a volcanic mountain, and subject to earthquakes. This town has no public establishment for the education of youth: it is therefore astonishing to find any knowledge among its inhabitants; yet there is some information disseminated among many of the Creoles of Cumana. They

are but seldom sent to Europe for their education; the most wealthy receive it at Caraccas, and the greater number under schoolmasters, from whom they learn the Spanish grammar, arithmetic, the first elements of geometry, drawing, a little Latin, and music.

Two pounds of beef are sold at Cumana for twopence-halfpenny; and twenty-two pounds of salt meat, at from three shillings and fourpence to four shillings and twopence. Fish is never weighed there; some days there is such a quantity caught by the fishermen, that they give ten, twelve, or fifteen, pounds weight for fivepence. The poor go to the sea-side with maize, cakes, and eggs, and barter them for fish. Eggs are the small change in Cumana, Caraccas, and other provinces of Venezuela, where copper coin is unknown; the smallest piece in circulation being a medio-real in silver, worth twopence-halfpenny. If one goes into a shop to buy something worth less than twopence-halfpenny, they give as change two or three eggs; for a dozen of eggs there are worth only twopence-halfpenny: that is also the price of a measure of excellent milk, about a quart. A sheep is sold for a dollar; a fine turkey for twenty or twenty-five pence; a fowl for fivepence; a fat capon sevenpence-halfpenny to tenpence; a duck, the same price; game and wild fowl are frequently sold cheaper than butcher's meat; and all those articles are still cheaper in the small towns of the interior.

I lived at the best and dearest hotel in Cumana at a dollar per day, including the expenses of my son and servant. They gave us for breakfast cold meats, fish, chocolate, coffee, tea, and Spanish wine. An excellent dinner, with Spanish and French wines, coffee, and liqueurs. In the evening chocolate. I was well lodged and lighted. I should have expended but half that sum, if I had gone to board and lodge in a family. In short, there is not a country in the world where one may live cheaper than in the province of Cumana. An excellent dinner may be had there for tenpence, not including wine, which does not cost more than fivepence per bottle, to those who buy a quantity of it. Poor people drink punch, which is at a very low rate, for it does not cost above one penny per quart.

GUIANA, OR GUAYANA.

This extensive region, which is included between the mouths of the Orinoco and the second degree of north latitude, contains several European settle-

ments,

ments; those of the Spanish portion are by no means the least fertile or important.

There is but one city and five towns in Spanish Guiana: San Tomé, Barceloneta, Santa Rosa de Maruente, and Caicara, which is about a hundred leagues westward of San Tomé, and San Antonio, forty leagues distant from it. There are, however, missionaries dispersed over this province.

ST. TOME DE ANGUSTURA.

The town of San Tomé had, in 1807, a population of about eight thousand five hundred persons, among whom were three hundred black slaves. This town is pretty well built and paved. Though it is situated in $8^{\circ} 8'$ of latitude, and in 52° of longitude, and elevated only thirty toises above the level of the sea, it still enjoys a very mild temperature. It seldom happens that Reaumur's thermometer rises above twenty-four degrees, in the hottest time of the year; and, from the beginning of November to the end of April, it rarely rises above 20° during the day, and generally descends to 17° at night. The regular breezes, a great number of rivers and streams which water it, and the immense forests that surround it in almost every direction, are the causes which tend to diminish the excessive heat, that seems natural to its latitude and trifling elevation above the sea.

It is very strange that Spanish Guiana, which is by far the most fertile country of Venezuela, should be, notwithstanding, the worst cultivated, the poorest, and least peopled. I do not believe there exists a country more wholesome, better watered, more fertile, and agreeable to inhabit, than that which is situated on one side between the Essequibo and the Caroni, and on the other, between the Caroni and Orinoco: this tract is more than forty-five leagues from north to south, and seventy leagues from east to west; yet, in its whole extent, it does not form a sixth part of Spanish Guiana.

Until now, Spanish Guiana has been a country almost wild; the only object of cultivation being a little sugar, cotton, indigo, arnotto, and excellent tobacco, very agreeable for smoking, because it has not the pungency of that plant in northern climates. Of aromatic and medicinal plants, the *lignum quassia*, and the bark of Angustura, to which the name of *bonplandia trifoliata* has been given, will some day or other become great objects of trade.

The oxen, horses, and asses, which were originally transported from Europe, have increased greatly there, and form im-

mense herds: a great part of them are wild in the savannas and forests, and others are kept in the natural pastures inclosed by the Spaniards, who are occupied in the care of those animals. There are some persons, each of whom possesses a tract of country of five or six leagues square, and is a proprietor of thirty or forty thousand oxen, horses, mules, or asses; but, as it is impossible for them to keep, and take proper care of, such a great number of beasts, from the want of herdsmen, they merely brand the flanks of their animals, occasionally beating up the forests, to examine the cattle which belong to each, and to sell the best.

WILD HORSES AND ASSES.

But there are thousands of horses which are wild in the forests, and do not belong to any one. I was enabled to ascertain a fact, known to all who have travelled in this country. The horses live there in societies, generally to the number of five or six hundred, and even one thousand: they occupy immense savannas, where it is dangerous to disturb or try to catch them. In the dry season they are sometimes obliged to go two or three leagues, and even more, to find water. They set out in regular ranks of four abreast, and thus form a procession of an extent of a quarter of a league. There are always five or six scouts, who precede the troop by about fifty paces. If they perceive a man or jaguar (the American tyger), they neigh, and the troop stops: if avoided, they continue their march; but, if an attempt be made to pass by their squadron, they leap on the imprudent traveller, and crush him under their feet. The best way is always to avoid them, and let them continue their route: they have also a chief, who marches between the scouts and the squadron, and five or six other horses march on each side of the band,—a kind of adjutants, whose duty consists in hindering any individual from quitting the ranks. If any one attempts to straggle either from hunger or fatigue, he is bitten till he resumes his place, and the culprit obeys with his head hanging down. Three or four chiefs march as the rear-guard, at five or six paces from the troop. I had often heard, at Trinidad, of this discipline among the wild horses, and confess that I could scarcely believe it; but what I have just stated is a fact, which I witnessed twice on the banks of the Guaripiche, where I encamped five days, for the express purpose of seeing those organized troops pass. I have met,

on the shores of the Orinoco, herds of fifty to a hundred wild oxen: a chief always marched at the head, and another at the rear.

The people of the country have assured me, that the wild asses, when they travel, observe the same discipline as the horses; but the mules, though they also live in troops, are continually fighting with each other, and it has not been observed that they have any chief. They however unite, at the appearance of a common enemy, and display still more trick and address than the horses, in avoiding the snares which are laid for catching them, and also for escaping when taken.

I remember to have seen one of these wild mules escape from a park, where he had been kept at Carupano, by throwing himself on his belly, and feigning to be dead. Suddenly he passed his head under one of the bars of the gate, pushed it open, and rushed into the town: above thirty persons ran after him in every direction, and, after a pursuit of two hours, they were obliged to give up the chase. It would be too tedious to recount all the tricks and stratagems employed by this animal to escape us: we finished the hunt by laughing at each other for leaving him at liberty.

POPULATION OF THE PROVINCES OF
VENEZUELA, IN 1807.

Caraccas	496,772 inhabitants.
Cumana	96,000
Island of Margarita	16,200
Spanish Guiana	52,000
Varinas	141,000
Maracaybo	174,000

Total 975,972

The whites among this population are about 200,000, in which number there are scarcely twenty thousand Europeans: the free people of colour, the mixtures of European, indigenous and African blood, were to the number of 435,000; the negro or mulatto slaves 58,000; the Indians were about 282,000: of whom 210,000 were united in missions or practised trades in the towns and villages. According to a census made in January 1811, the population exceeded one million of souls.

LOPEZ DE AGUIRRE.

Lopez de Aguirre, a Basque, was an audacious robber, who spread terror in South America, about the middle of the sixteenth century, during the civil wars in Peru, between the partisans of Pizarro and Almagro. He had been sent by the viceroy Gonzales Pizarro to ex-

plore the navigation and country near the river Amazon, under the orders of Don Pedro d'Orsua. The banditti who composed this expedition murdered Orsua, because he was a moral man, and wanted to restrain them within the limits of their duty. They proclaimed Lopez d'Aguirre their chief, and gave him the title of king. After having ravaged the kingdom of New Grenada, the island of Trinidad, and that of Margarita, the countries of Venezuela, Santa Martha, &c. Aguirre became the executioner of his accomplices, of whom he daily put some to death, because he fancied nothing but conspiracies against him; they all, with the exception of one, abandoned him at the battle of Borburata, and went over to the royal camp, crying "God save the king!" The commandant, Garcia de Parades, granted them pardon in the name of his sovereign. Reduced to despair, he addressed these words to his only daughter, who accompanied him in his travels: "Commend your soul to God, for I am going to take your life, that you may never have the shame of being called the daughter of a traitor!" and a moment afterwards, he shot her in the breast with his musket. While wandering about, pursued by despair and remorse, he was taken, shot, and quartered, after having requested a few minutes respite, to make important discoveries for the interests of his sovereign.

MARGARITA.

Though the soil of Margarita is arid and unproductive, this island soon became populous, as the pearl fishery attracted numerous navigators. The Dutch, jealous of its prosperity, burnt and destroyed Pompatar, the principal town, in 1662.

The Island of Margarita has three ports: the most important is that of Pompatar, situated on the south-east coast. It is a large and fine basin, in which vessels are defended from winds and tempests: its entrance is protected on one side by a fortress, and on the other by batteries. These are the principal fortifications of the island: there is a considerable contraband trade there with the English and French colonies, &c. and also with Cumana.

The agriculture of the island scarcely suffices for the maintenance of its inhabitants. Maize, cassava, and bananas, are their principal resources: the bananas are excellent, but very small, owing to the aridity of the soil and dryness of the climate. The inhabitants cultivate in small proportions, and for their own consumption

consumption only, all the productions of the Antilles, the sugar-cane, coffee, and cocoa-trees, &c.: they rear a great many goats and sheep, which, though lean, give delicious milk, owing to the aromatic herbs on which they feed. They have all kinds of fowl at a very trifling price, and have a little trade in them. Living is still cheaper at Margarita than at Cumana or Caraccas. I have bought a capon there for fivepence, a dozen of eggs for twopence-halfpenny, two bottles of milk for the same, a fish of ten or twelve pounds for the same, a turkey for one shilling, a lamb of two months, for fifteenpence, &c. The fishermen sell or exchange their fish for cakes of maize, bananas, cassava bread, &c. I know of no inn, properly speaking, in this island; but a stranger is received in every house there, when he offers to bear a part of the expenses.

The climate of Margarita is very healthy: it is there that persons go, who have contracted obstructions and other diseases in the humid and unwholesome parts of the Island of Trinidad and the continent. This island has only three rivulets, which, however, are sufficiently large to turn mills, when such are established: their waters are limpid; that of the little river which runs by the town of Assoncion, and which in some places passes over a bed of amphibolic schistus, contains sulphurated iron, magnesia, &c. The inhabitants prefer drinking water from ponds, though it is always turbid. The first time they presented this water to me at Pompatar, I refused it with disgust; but I was assured that it was more wholesome than rain water, and they laughed at the grimaces I made. The rich have filtering stones; others drink as they draw it, and do not find any bad effects from it. This water contains a great quantity of calcareous marl.

This island is divided into two parts, which communicate with each other by an isthmus or natural causeway, that is scarcely more than from eighty to one hundred paces broad, and, in some parts, from ten to twelve feet only above the level of the sea.

Margarita had, in 1807, a population of eight thousand whites, five thousand five hundred mixed blood, one thousand eight hundred Indians, and about nine hundred slaves, making a total of 16,200 persons. This island is sixteen marine leagues in its greatest length, six in its greatest breadth, in some parts only two or three leagues broad, and its surface is thirty-one square leagues.

MATRIMONY.

Creoles generally consult only their taste, and seldom think of fortune, in forming a matrimonial union: it is common among them for a wealthy man to marry a woman without fortune; it is still more so, to see a rich heiress choose for her husband a man who is penniless; and it is also very common to see a young couple marry without any other property than mutual love. They are young, and can make a fortune, say their worthy parents. In those countries where labour and industry are not disgraceful, and where every active and industrious person is sure to succeed, it often happens that such persons acquire independent fortunes. The Creoles think with reason, that, in the choice of an union that ought to last for life, on which depends the happiness or misfortune of two individuals, and of those whom they may bring into the world, it is the affections of the parties which, above all, should be consulted. Thus it happens very seldom that parents are seen to oppose the inclinations of their children, provided there be nothing dishonourable in their choice. It is due to the Creoles to say, they are particularly delicate on this point, and the women quite as much as the men. Nothing, for instance, would induce a young Creole lady to marry a man deemed a liar or a coward.

QUADRUPEDS.

Almost every species of European quadruped which has been transported into those countries have become wild, and multiplied excessively in the forests, which abound in the necessary means for their subsistence. The horned cattle and the horse have not preserved the beauty of the Spanish oxen and the blood-horse, no doubt, from the little care that is taken of them; but the ass has become larger and more handsome.

The horses of Buenos Ayres and Chili, however, rival those of the finest breeds in Europe. The goat is smaller than the European, but its flesh is better, and it yields an abundance of delicious milk. The sheep, when taken care of, equals the finest species in Spain. At Margarita I have seen sheep and wethers whose wool was excellent, as is also the meat of the latter. Swine are not so large as in Europe, but are more prolific; and their fresh meat is more delicate and easy of digestion than that of the European hog.

It seems certain that the dog did not exist here previous to the arrival of Europeans; and it is a remarkable circumstance, that those which inhabit the forests

forests with the savages, who are excessively fond of them, have lost the faculty of barking: they make a plaintive howling like wolves. I have had dogs of the breed of the shepherd's dog and of the mastiff, of which the sire and dam were littered in Europe, and yet they did not bark, but howled. It is true, that I then lived almost entirely in the midst of forests: yet the dogs in the towns and villages bark like the dogs in Europe. The shepherd's dog in this country becomes a very good sporting dog.

TRINIDAD.

There is perhaps no part of the New World, which offers to the navigator, fatigued with the monotony of a sea voyage, a view at once so picturesque and imposing as the approach to Trinidad, placed almost at the mouth of the Orinoco, as a kind of barrier to restrain the impetuosity of its tide and currents.

This island has the form of an irregular square. The Spanish geographers compare it to an ox-hide: it is sixty British miles from east to west, and forty-five from north to south; which makes a surface of about forty-two thousand two hundred square miles British. Trinidad is separated from the continent by the gulf of Paria. The length of this gulf is about thirty marine leagues, while its greatest breadth, from north to south, is about fifteen. The second mouth of the Orinoco, called the Canal of Pedernalos, and a great number of other channels formed by a multitude of islets, almost level with the water, all in a northern direction, continually discharge the waters of that fine river into this gulf. Those waters flow into the ocean by two great channels, commonly called the Mouths of the Orinoco.

GUARAONS.

The existence of the tribe of Guaraons appears to be connected with that of the family of palms, as the fate of certain birds and butterflies depends on that of particular trees and flowers.

The Guaraons have contrived means of fixing their habitations on the palm-trees: they choose a group of them, where the trees grow nearest to each other. At fifteen or twenty feet above high-water mark, they twist and weave their boughs to form a floor, which is then covered with the broad leaves. The roofs of these aerial huts are also covered with the leaves of the same tree, to which their canoes are fastened. These Indians are in number about ten thousand: they are strong, tall, and well made, less indolent than the other savages of South

America, passionately fond of dancing, gay, social, and hospitable. They are not so reserved as the other savages their neighbours. Their soft and harmonious language is rich, when compared with those in their vicinity. The Guaraons are expert fishers, and have dogs like those of the European shepherds, which they employ to catch fish in shallow water; they caress those animals continually, and treat them with the greatest kindness. Their trade consists in fish, nets, hammocks, and baskets: they are at peace with all the world, even with the Spanish government, which has, for a long time past, renounced the project of subjugating them. I had frequent means of observing this little nation: while among them, I often thought myself existing in the days of Astrea: their society is a continual scene of peace, abundance, gaiety, and concord. I sometimes regretted that old recollections, and social habits, did not permit me to settle among them; and they are the only savage tribe who ever inspired me with that desire.

CURIOUS ETYMOLOGY.

Antiquaries and oriental scholars are, without doubt, surprised to find, in these savage forests, the word Cumana, and and other words of Greek origin, before the arrival of Europeans; also the Indian word Paria, which designates in the New World, as well as Hindostan, a caste of people despised and persecuted by their neighbours.

PARIA.

There are few places so salubrious, and yet so fertile, in Southern America, as the valleys of Cape de Paria. Many tribes of Indians inhabit its coasts. Some French families took refuge there during the first storms of the Revolution: a considerable number of French colonists from Trinidad, Tobago, and Grenada, have also settled in the same neighbourhood. At first, the Spanish government gave them a good reception; but the beautiful plantations of cocoa, coffee, cotton, and even sugar manufactories, which they soon formed, tempted the jealous avarice of some local officers of the government. From 1802, various pretences were invented for getting rid of and plundering them. Some were driven out and sent away from the most contemptible motives.*

The

* Among others, M. Isnardi, a native of Piedmont; the same, I believe, who is now secretary to the Congress of Venezuela.

The entrance of this gulf presents scenes both varied and magnificent. To the east is that majestic river, compared to which those of Europe are but as rivulets! its waves meeting those of the sea, and incessantly disputing the empire of the gulf. To the west appear, rising from the bosom of the horizon, the mountains of Cumana; and, by degrees, on approaching the western coast of Trinidad, you discover numerous valleys and plains enamelled with eternal verdure. On nearing the coast, the navigator's view is charmed by a landscape covered with various plantations, and diversified by meandering rivers and rivulets, which water it. A strange and sometimes grotesque medley of white, copper-colour, and black, men, animate this scene. Whilst the numerous canoes of Caribs and Guaraouns skim the gulf in every direction, the traveller sees and hears the negroes working and singing in cadence; troops of monkeys jumping from tree to tree, and swinging themselves while suspended from the branches by their tails:* innumerable flocks of magnificent birds enliven the scene, by the beauty and variety of their colours. The shores continually resound with the songs of some and the screeching of others: at the end of this smiling plain, rises the northern mountains, like an amphitheatre, their summits crowned with the noble trees of the Tropics, above which the palm, waving

* Travellers have not exaggerated, when they asserted, that a particular class of apes, who have a great dread of the water, when obliged to cross a stream, climb up the nearest tree to the bank, and form a chain, by hanging from the tails of each other. If the river is not wide, the whole string of animals swing backwards and forwards until the lowest alights on the opposite bank, when he who is uppermost slides down the tree, and they are immediately pulled over by the one to whom the post of honour had been assigned. It should be remarked, that, as fast as the latter's companions are drawn to land, they assist him in dragging the others to the bank. This very singular practice, which has frequently amused me, is accompanied with howlings, cries, and grimaces, sufficient to frighten any one not accustomed to the neighbourhood of those living caricatures of our species.

It is equally true, that this most mischievous tribe invariably place centinels whenever they halt, particularly when employed on a foraging excursion: this fact I have ascertained to my cost, having often surprised bodies of them pillaging my fields of maize in Trinidad.

its lofty head, attracts the thunder, and forces the clouds to depose their waters at its feet, from whence, precipitating in cascades and torrents, they form rivulets and streams.

PORT SPAIN, TRINIDAD.

Port Spain is situated in the western part of the island, and gives its name to the capital. Besides several quays which belong to individuals, this town has a very fine one of stone, which runs several hundred yards into the sea, and is defended by a battery. The hills which command the town have been fortified by the present possessors of the island. Next to Chagaramus, it is the best port in Trinidad, and one of the most safe and extensive bays in the world.

All the western coast of the island is a series of bays, where vessels may anchor in safety at all times. The most important place, after Port Spain, is that of Annaparima. On this ground, which in 1791 presented only a marsh and fishing hamlet, the English have built a fine town, where a considerable trade is carried on.

ASPHALTUM LAKE, TRINIDAD.

The most remarkable of those marshes is the asphaltum lake, which has no communication with the great lagoon, as marked on some maps. This singular lake, vulgarly called the pitch lake, is about half a league in length, and the same in breadth. It is situated near the sea, and elevated eighty feet above its level.

Here the coast presents a confused mixture of marly earths, (which marl is argillaceous,) impregnated with asphaltum. An excellent limpid and running water is found in the crevices of the asphaltum, as far as six feet deep, in which there is a great quantity of small fish. All these crevices, called funnels, incline to a conic form. The bottoms of some are so liquid, that, when poles are thrust into them, they disappear. The people who inhabit the neighbourhood assured me, that, having put marks on the pieces of wood thrust into the funnels, they found them again, a few days afterwards, on the sea shore. I saw several pieces of wood on the lake completely changed into bitumen: in one of the funnels I found the trunk of a large tree, which perfectly retained its round shape. I caused it to be sawed, when it was observed to be completely impregnated with petroleum.

I have also seen the same phenomenon in the provinces of New Barcelona and Cumana, near the lake of Cariaco; and various parts of those regions where the

the currents of the sea have formed large masses of vegetable substances.

There is no phenomenon which offers more variety and mobility than the surface of the asphaltum lake. Here are seen groups of shrubs; there tufts of wild pine-apples and aloes. Among these shrubs and flowers, swarms of magnificent butterflies and brilliant humming-birds seek their food, enlivening a scene which, if it were deprived of animals and vegetables, would present an exact image of Tartarus. Where an islet of several feet diameter had been seen in the evening, there is often nothing to be found the next morning but a gulf, in which it has been swallowed up; whilst, on the side of it, has arisen another island, that will soon be covered with vegetation.

Not far from the borders of the lake, among the beautiful plantations and fine forests that surround it, is found petroleum mixed with the earth, which it tends greatly to fertilize. The best and finest fruits of the colony come from that district; its pine-apples, in particular, are less fibrous, larger, more aromatic, and of a deeper golden colour, than anywhere else. South of Cape de la Brea, is a pit or submarine volcano, which the sea causes to boil up, and discharge a considerable quantity of petroleum.

In the eastern part of the island, and bay of Mayaro, is another volcano, which, in the months of March and June every year, produces some detonations, with a noise resembling that of a cannon or thunder. This noise is succeeded by flames and smoke, which rise from the abyss, and some minutes afterwards, the waves throw on shore pieces of bitumen, as black and brilliant as jet. By mixing this asphaltum in proper proportions with tallow and linseed oil, a kind of tar is made, fit for caulking ships, and which has the inestimable property of preserving them from the corrosions of the sea-worm. Since 1805, the English have employed it very successfully for that purpose. The island produces sufficient to caulk thousands of ships every year.

PETRIFICATION.

The absence of calcareous mountains, and even of considerable masses of that substance, is one of the geological characteristics by which Trinidad, Tobago, and the chain of Cumana, differ essentially from the Antilles or Caribbean islands, which have calcareous rocks, and even mountains in strata, in which are found various kinds of agglomerated and petrified shells.

Of all these calcareous rocks, the most remarkable and worthy of fixing the attention of naturalists, is a bank of carbonate of lime, rather hard, on the sea shore, in the district of Moule in Guadeloupe.

This calcareous bank is on a level with the sea, and covered at high-water. General Ernouf, having heard that it contained human skeletons, sent, towards the end of 1804, M. Gerard, a naturalist of Brussels, to make excavations there. He extracted a block from it, in which was found a human skeleton perfectly encrusted in the stone, and completely identified with it. I was in Guadeloupe at that period, and ordered workmen to dig there on my own account. I could not obtain an entire skeleton, but heads, arms, legs, and fragments of the dorsal spine. With a sufficient number of workmen, I might have obtained complete skeletons, and more accurately delineated than that of M. Gerard. There are several parts of his skeleton of which the lineaments cannot be clearly distinguished without the assistance of a magnifying glass. I remarked, that all those anthropolites are placed east and west, according to the ancient custom of the Asiatics and Americans. By the side of the skeletons were found pestles, mortars, hatchets, clubs of a basaltic or porphyritic stone, and instruments similar to those which the savages still use. Those instruments are petrified. But I found no trace nor the smallest vestige of organic bodies, though there are banks of madrepores quite near them.

CLIMATE OF TRINIDAD.

Countries situated between the Tropics have only two seasons: the dry and rainy, or the spring and winter. These two seasons are still more distinct at Trinidad than in the Antilles; for, whatever may be the winds that prevail in that island, there scarcely ever falls a drop of rain during the spring. This is the name given in those regions to that part of the year which commences with the month of November, and concludes with that of April or the beginning of May. From the end of April the heat increases gradually; the east, north-east, and northerly winds, become less cool; at the end of June, the heat is greatest; the storms commence, and increase in frequency until the months of August, September, and the beginning of October, when they occur daily, and are accompanied with torrents of rain. Nothing is more curious to an European, than the manner in which a storm forms in

in this climate. The air is calm, not a zephyr agitates it; Reaumer's thermometer is in the shade at twenty-three, twenty-four, or twenty-five, degrees, ascending as the atmosphere is more calm. The sky is clear, azure, and without a cloud. Suddenly there is seen forming in one part of the heavens a small grey point, which in four or five minutes increases, and becomes a large black cloud; at first lightnings issue from this cloud; those soon become more considerable; a minute afterwards the barometer descends suddenly one or two lines; the thunder rolls, and in an instant a torrent of rain falls in large drops. Those showers generally last only a few minutes, seldom half an hour: scarcely has the rain ceased, than the atmosphere remains as calm, and the sky as serene, as before. It rains thus fifteen or twenty times a-day during the winter; and, a moment afterwards, it scarcely seems that there had been rain. There is seldom any fall of rain in the night, but a heavy shower without wind usually precedes sunrise by half an hour, during the season.

I have very rarely observed in the atmosphere of Trinidad, and the countries of the sea-coast between the left bank of the Orinoco and the valleys of Cumana and Caraccas, that conflict of winds and clouds so remarkable in the turbulent climate of the Antilles and the gulf of Mexico, when, during the winter, the westerly winds, chasing and overturning the inferior clouds, against their usual course, produce those gusts of wind which have so often desolated that archipelago. Hurricanes are unknown in Trinidad, Tobago, and the adjacent continent.

It is very remarkable that Grenada, the most southward of the Antilles, and only thirty leagues from the continent, is as much subject to squalls of wind as the other Antilles. It is equally singular, that the island of Tobago, which, like Trinidad, is situated to the east of the coast range, has never experienced a hurricane.

I made use of Fahrenheit's thermometer: it stood usually during that season, at Port Spain, in the morning before sunrise, at 78° to 80°; from sunrise to sunset, at 84° to 86°; in the evening it generally fell to 82°; sometimes, when the weather was very stormy in the months of August and September, and the air was saturated with humidity, it rose as high as 90°. In the space of nine years I have seen it only twice at 98°, which

was the 2d of September, 1798, and the 21st of October, 1799, days on which earthquakes were felt.

There falls at Trinidad annually, on an average, about sixty-two inches of water during the winter, and about eight or nine inches in the spring, including the dews; for it scarcely ever rains from the end of December until the end of May. Having said that the rains diminish with the storms and the heat, from the end of October, I should add, that those October rains are very gentle; in November, when the cool season begins, they become every day less frequent and more slight. From the end of December until the beginning of June of some years, there does not fall a drop of water during the day.

The old people in Trinidad assert, that it rained much more previous to the year 1783, in which the draining and clearing of the lands commenced. It is certain, that the river San Joseph, which runs into the Caroni, was navigable thirty years ago, as far as below the town. And I, who frequented or inhabited the island for about fifteen years, have remarked that the rivers, which run towards the west, had much less water in 1806 than in 1791; whilst those of the east and north appear not to be diminished; no doubt, because the clearing and cultivation have not destroyed the forests there, as in the western parts.

The vicinity of the humid continent of Guiana explains why the falls of rain are as great at Trinidad as in Martinico, Guadaloupe, and the greater part of the Antilles, which have rather large mountains in all their length, the direction of which seems to have been regulated according to the predominant winds, and whose pointed summits act as conductors to the atmospheric electricity attracting its vapours. Trinidad, on the contrary, has a chain of mountains but little elevated on its northern coast, a group of hills towards the centre, and a chain of downs on the south-west coast. The tops of those hills are flat or rounded, though generally their sides are more steep than those of the mountains of Martinico and the Caribbean islands.

With the rainy season begins the inundation of the Orinoco, which continues increasing from the end of April to the end of August. In September, its waters are at their greatest height: it has then risen from thirty-nine to forty-one feet above its level when the waters are lowest. Its banks are covered, and the

chief part of the Guaraoun islets are immersed. In October the river begins to decrease regularly until the month of March, when its waters are at the lowest ebb; those fluctuations are regular and invariable.

LONGEVITY.

There is no country in the world which presents a more healthy old age than the Antilles, or any that is more exempt from gout, sciatica, loss of senses or the faculties, together with the dismal train of physical evils incident to cold climates.

THE FIXED STARS.

The most beautiful part of the southern celestial hemisphere, which comprehends the Centaur, Argo, and Cross, is always hidden from the inhabitants of Europe. It is only under the Equator that the magnificent spectacle is to be enjoyed, of seeing, at the same time, all the stars of the two celestial hemispheres. Some of our northern constellations, such as the Great and Little Bear, on account of their depth in the horizon, appear of an astonishing size.

GUYARA.

But that which is neither fabulous or romantic, is the beauty of the climate, its fine rivers, and enchanting situations; a gigantic and magnificent vegetation, compared to which the largest trees in Europe would appear stunted shrubs, and our most beautiful flowers seem languishing and faded; the earth so fruitful, that the children of nature gather without labour the most succulent and nourishing roots and exquisite fruits, whilst the forests, rivers, and sea, present them with abundant and solid food. Such are the true natural riches of nearly all the country situated between the Amazons and Orinoco, also of Trinidad, which is the same in miniature.

CAPTURE OF TRINIDAD.

On the 16th of February, 1797, a British squadron of four sail-of-the-line, under the orders of Admiral Harvey, appeared off the island. The Spanish rear-admiral Apodaca was anchored at Chagaramus with three superb ships of the line, (one of which was a three-decker,) and a forty-gun frigate. As soon as he saw the British ships, he set fire to his own, and gallantly retreated to Port Spain, reciting his rosary, and accompanied by a band of priests, who followed his example. Arrived at the governor's with his chaplet of beads in his hand: "Well, admiral, all is lost, as you have burnt your ships," said Chacon to him. — "No, all is not lost," replied the noble admiral; "I have saved the image of

San Jago of Campostella, the patron of my ship and myself," taking from his pocket an image of that saint!

General Sir Ralph Abercrombie landed with four thousand men, marched to Port Spain, fired a few discharges of cannon, and, after a short conference, the governor capitulated.

The Indian population has been constantly decreasing since the conquest of the island by the British government. In 1797 there were reckoned 2,200 indigenous natives, and scarcely 1467 in 1807. Some had died of drunkenness and vexation, others had fled to the Spanish continent, to withdraw themselves and their wives from the brutality of the infamous W. T. the commandant at Toco.

Though the population in Trinidad had increased above 500, from 1802 to 1807, only nine new sugar plantations were formed in that time. This increase of the population has been chiefly in negroes, who have augmented the hands employed in cultivation.

STEAM ENGINE.

I ought not to omit here that the use of the steam engine, by Messrs. Bolton and Watt, of Birmingham, was introduced into Trinidad in 1804. It has replaced the cattle-mills on some plantations. This machine is preferable to windmills, which cannot work at all times, and it is less expensive; the water-mills alone being preferable to it. The engine alluded to is said to have the power of sixteen horses, and performs, in a given time, the work of three oxen or mule mills, on a sugar plantation. It is well known what a number of those animals are destroyed annually in the colonies; the introduction of this machine in the manufactory of sugar is therefore a very great improvement as well as saving in colonial agriculture. Sir Stephen Lushington, who has a very large property in this island, had the honour of being the first to employ it there, in contempt of the outcry raised against it by the vulgar prejudices of others.

TOBAGO.

It was not till the peace of 1763, that Louis XV. ceded Tobago in perpetuity to England. Accordingly, on the 20th of May, 1765, the King of Great Britain appointed a commission for granting lands on the island.

Although previous to 1765 the population of the island was scarcely fifteen hundred inhabitants, it was increased to twelve thousand in 1777: of those twelve thousand

thousand persons, there were nine thousand slaves, two thousand one hundred people of colour, about two hundred Indians, and seven hundred whites.

The colonial importance of Tobago commences at this period. The British employed large capitals there, for improving the cultivation of cotton, which is of superior quality, by its extreme whiteness, the softness and length of its fibre. It was then calculated that the expenses occasioned by the establishment of a sugar plantation were at the rate of 50*l.* sterling per acre; and that the net produce of the property was twenty per cent. on a plantation prudently managed.

In 1776, this colony produced ten thousand hogsheads of raw sugar. In the same year, thirty-three thousand pounds weight of cotton were gathered: some planters also applied themselves to the culture of spices, such as the pimento or allspice, *myrtus pimenta*, cinnamon, ginger, cloves, &c.

ROBLEY'S PLANTATION.

The cultivated part of the island is in a most flourishing state. I have never seen better farming or finer negroes. The principal plantation, which belonged to the late Mr. Joseph Robley, at Sandy Point, is perhaps the best colonial establishment in the Antilles. It consists of six windmills for bruising the canes, and three for grinding maize. This property is divided into three sugar plantations, each having a double set of boilers. The negroes inhabit three streets, near the plantation to which they are attached: their huts are built of stone, and covered with slates. In 1803, they amounted to a thousand, of all ages, and both sexes. Every thing about this plantation has the appearance of order and abundance. I went there several times during the peace of Amiens, and never did I hear the sound of the driver's whip. Next to the plantation of Sir William Young, at Saint Vincent's, I do not believe that there were any men in existence, employed in cultivation, more happy than the negroes on the Robley plantations, in 1803.

This great proprietor had all the tradesmen necessary for such establishments, on his property, such as masons, carpenters, wheelwrights, smiths, farriers, &c. Once, while I was at his house, the wind broke a vane of one of the windmills, and we heard, a moment afterwards, that a similar accident had happened to a neighbour.—“Come,” said he, “and you shall see how soon I can repair the damage.”

A conque-shell was blown, and I immediately saw a hundred negroes appear, some with pulleys, others dragging a capstan, and the rest an enormous triangular ladder; at last, a large waggon drawn by six fine mules brought a mill-vane, always kept ready in case of accidents: it was put up in half an hour, and they then fitted the sail to it: in short, four hours after the accident, the mill worked as well as ever. Mr. Robley then observed, “This is one of the many advantages a large proprietor possesses, in having his workmen at home: I have a double set of every thing necessary for sugar-works on those three sugar plantations, which are on the same estate, and may be called six, as there are six mills, and three double sets of cauldrons, and their appendages, mill-works, boilers, &c. All are numbered and ready in my stores; so that, if any accident happens, it may be repaired in a few hours, without interrupting the manufactory of sugar. My neighbour, who has just experienced the same accident, has neither workmen nor materials of his own; so that, while he goes to town to purchase those articles, for which he will be obliged to pay fifty per cent. more than they have cost me in England, and while his overseers are running about to seek workmen, and three or four days may be lost in procuring them, there are no longer any signs of the accident on my premises. My neighbour's canes, already cut, will ferment, and perhaps he will lose four or five hogsheads of sugar, without calculating the time of his negroes.” I believe no man ever felt more happy than Mr. Robley, whilst he explained the above details, and others relative to the management of his plantation. This gentleman was the creator of his own fortune: he was born of a respectable family in Cornwall, and had gone to the West Indies at the age of eighteen, employed as a clerk in the navy-office. He first established himself in Tobago in 1768, and began to cultivate the cotton-plant with a capital of about 1700*l.* sterling: already, in 1789, which was only twenty-two years afterwards, besides the magnificent establishment at Sandy Point, he possessed another sugar plantation, with a water-mill of great value, which he had presented to one of his nephews. He had, besides, at the peace of Amiens, a large sum in the public funds. This fortune he owed entirely to his activity, prudence, and the fertile soil on which he had fixed his establishments.

This great cultivator had besides two

vessels, which were his own property : the first time I saw them lying at anchor before his house, I mistook one for a ship of the line, and the other for a frigate. They came twice a-year, and lay in front of his residence, for the purpose of taking his produce to Europe, and of bringing not only all that was necessary for himself and his negroes, but also merchandise, which he sold to the merchants of Tobago, and on which he gained considerable profits. No man in any country ever obtained more respect and authority than Mr. Robley, in his limited sphere : he was President of the Colonial Council, and consequently Governor, when the other was absent.

Joseph Robley was the first inhabitant of this island, and perhaps of all the West Indies, who went to the expense of constructing water and windmills, expressly with a view of grinding maize for his negroes ; and it was not long before his example was imitated by his neighbours. Before his time, and even at present, in the other colonies, the negroes are obliged to grind the maize with small iron mills, which fatigues them extremely, causing a great loss of time when they return from work at mid-day or in the evening. On those plantations they have not even sieves for separating the bran : but, on the Robley estate, they receive their rations of maize-flour well sifted, and all the grain which they bring to the mill is ground gratis. Mr. Robley neglected nothing that would induce them to prefer this food : from its stimulating qualities, he thought it the best vegetable nourishment for men who cultivate the ground in hot climates. He had also made considerable plantations of the bread-fruit tree of Otaheite, and other plants brought from the South Seas by Captain Bligh, as well as those which are cultivated in the magnificent garden of Saint Vincent, by Mr. Anderson.

Mr. Robley returned to England after the peace of Amiens, and was then about sixty years of age. He had not seen his native land from the age of eighteen ; but he did not long enjoy the fruits of his industry, having died in a year after his arrival.

THE SCOTS.

The present inhabitants of Tobago are nearly all Scotch. I have known even some Barbadians there, who are very worthy people, and treat their negroes with humanity ; for, according to an old Norman proverb, there are worthy people every-where, even in Barbadoes, and

the piratical towns on the coast of Barbary ! But at Tobago, as at Grenada and Barbadoes, it is the piratical portion that gives the law.

It is really a most astonishing circumstance, how the first Scotch emigrants have found means to make considerable fortunes in many of the West India Islands, and to monopolize all the lucrative places. On the European continent the name of English is given to all the subjects of his Britannic Majesty ; and yet the English, Welsh, Scotch, and Irish, are, by their prejudices, customs, and even their local laws, four distinct nations : the Irish, a people eminently frank and generous, say, and not without reason, that the Scotch are the best servants and the worst masters in the world ! Bands of these poor devils, which continually arrive in the colonies, always land in tatters !

These men are soon placed with the planters in the situation of negro drivers, or as clerks with merchants. They are laborious, parsimonious, and sober, when they have to maintain themselves at their own expense ; they accumulate gradually and by pennies, lend their money at usurious interest, and finish by amassing considerable capitals. At length, some become partners in commercial houses, when they distinguish themselves in business by their artifice,—a word which, in merchantile language, is synonymous with roguery. Others become agents for great plantations for proprietors ; and these are metamorphosed into implacable tyrants over their slaves. Both the one and the other then affect an insolent haughtiness, which renders them truly burlesque.

The Scotch support and assist each other ; and this principle would be very laudable, if it did not proceed from a repulsive and hostile spirit to other people, without excepting even the inhabitants of the other British provinces. It has often happened that Scotch merchants and planters have dismissed their English and Irish clerks and overseers, without giving them any other reason, and without having really any other, but that of replacing them by a Scotch clerk or overseer. It is not surprising then that such men, with such dispositions, resembling parasite and noxious plants, should finish by making themselves masters in every country where they have been suffered to take root. An Irishman alluding to this disposition, regarding the Lords Bute, Mansfield, Melville, and others, as well as the Scotch mobility, observed to me

me one day, "That if ever a Scotch plebeian succeeded in acquiring a fortune in China, he would end by becoming prime-minister there; and if the Chinese Emperor would let him go on, there would not be a single ecclesiastical, civil, or military, situation in the whole empire, that in the course of ten years would not be filled by Scotchmen!"

The first English planters in Tobago, Young, Melvill, Franklyn, Robley, Robertson, &c. were persons of respectability; but the clouds of Scotch boors and barbarous Barbadians, who became the majority there, have corrupted the manners of the colony, and rendered it almost as uninhabitable for an honest man as Botany Bay.

It is for the moralists of Scotland to explain why, in a nation where there is so much virtue and knowledge in the first classes of society, there should be found more servility and meanness in the lower, than among the chief part of the other European nations; and why, in spite of his dress and grimaces, a Scottish courtier so much resembles a rich upstart!

SOIL OF TOBAGO.

The surface of this island is more elevated in the eastern than the western part, which contains very beautiful savannas or natural meadows. The interior is composed of rounded hills and delightful valleys. The rotatory and undulatory motions of the currents are every-where seen.

The soil of Tobago is generally rich, and the vegetative earth more or less deep. There is no stone on the mountains nor in the valleys; you never see those large blocks of hyaline quartz that are met almost every-where in Trinidad, on the summits of mountains as well as in the plains. The rounded pebbles seen in small quantities at Tobago, in the beds of rivers, are of quartzose freestone, some of hyaline quartz, others of amphibolic schistus, and red pebble. The different excursions I made in the interior of this island, have never enabled me to discover either sulphur or carbonate of lime. Tobago resembles the eastern part of Trinidad, with this difference, that the vegetative soil in the first-named island, is deeper on the hills than on those of Trinidad. The hills of both islands have not, like the mountains in the Antilles, those sharp peaks and uncovered sides, that denote great volcanic convulsions. Every thing seems to indicate that Trinidad and Tobago were separated from the continent by a sudden retiring of the sea:

the Carribean Islands were apparently detached at the same time; but the volcanoes acted, and still act, a more important part in their granitic and basaltic mountains. At the Carribees, the spectator's imagination is moved, attracted, and transported, by the fearful, sublime, and stupendous; while the pictures presented in Tobago and Trinidad, are of a calm, regular, and magnificent, description.

THE NEGROES.

Since I have undertaken to descant on this subject, I ought to tell the truth. No prejudice or other earthly consideration,—no fear of displeasing a class of men, otherwise respectable, but whose minds are embittered by misfortunes in which I also participate,—nothing shall induce me to speak otherwise than I think: happy, if my feeble but impartial voice should at some future day enlighten governments on the localities and reciprocal interests of colonies and mother-countries.

I shall therefore candidly declare what a residence of sixteen years, the possession of estates in the colonies, and a long habit of governing negroes, have enabled me to observe. In the first place, a *Moco* or *Ibo* negro differs as much by the inferiority of his cerebral organization and intellectual powers from a *Coromantyn* or *Gold-Coast* negro, *Mandingo*, *Congo*, and especially a *Mozambique*, as the *Calmucks* and some tribes which live not far from them, are inferior to Europeans: I pledge myself for the correctness of this assertion, which, though not sufficiently developed now, will be so at some future period, by facts, and a more learned pen than mine.

The inferior races of negroes improve in the colonies in respect to intellect, either by their mixture with the superior ones, or by a better climate than that of Guinea. There is no doubt also, that their communications with Europeans and their descendants, contribute to the development of their intellectual faculties. All the colonists who possess a spirit of observation agree, that the *Creole* negroes are, in general, more intelligent than the greater part of the European peasants; and that they are in no respect inferior, in this point of view, to the white *Creoles* who have not received an education. I have known men of great wit and sound sense among them. I remarked, however, that, though the *Creole* negroes have, generally, a more intelligent countenance than the *Africans*, they have not in their look, and especially

especially their smile, either the mildness or benevolence of many of the latter. The Coromantyns are distinguished by the haughtiness of their gait and looks, without any indication of ferocity; the Mandingoes, Foulhas, and Mozambiques, by great mildness in their look and smile; the Mokos and Ibos, by a narrow and low forehead, small heads, projecting teeth, eyes without expression; and the Creoles, generally, by traits of trick and cunning, which they no doubt acquire in flattering the young whites from their earliest infancy. But I have known many estimable persons in all these tribes. A Creole of Martinico, Mr. Blanchetiere Bellevue, who was advantageously known to the Constituent Assembly by the brilliancy and vigour of his talents, made a collection of their proverbs, maxims, and songs. It contains some articles worthy of being placed beside the Manual of Epictetus, Aphorisms of Cervantes, and of our most witty songs. And who have been the authors of them? Negroes and Mulattoes, who are rigidly prohibited from learning to read or write.

I think I already hear some of my readers speak of their vices, their libertinism, knavery, and propensity to thieving, &c. My reply is, that, in all times, those vices were, and ever will be, the inseparable companions of slavery.

The negroes, in general, show the greatest fondness for their children, and do not refuse them any thing. It is, however, but truth to say, that, when they deserve chastisement, they perform it with violence; but their children are the most obstinate weepers in the world; and the father or mother, after having beaten them several times, generally finish by giving them playthings, or cakes, to pacify them.

All I can say of the religion of the negroes is, that some are idolators, and others Mahometans; but the greater part of them are circumcised. It appears certain that they practised circumcision before Mahometanism was known to them. The idolatrous negroes are of milder manners than the Mahometans, probably because their religion is not intolerant.

The two crimes most revolting to nature,—abortion and infanticide, ought to be very rare amongst men who have so much affection for their children; yet there are frequent instances of them: but it is only on plantations where negroes are treated with injustice and cruelty. *In such cases, it is not uncommon for a negro and his wife to resolve on poisoning themselves and their children, to*

be freed from misfortunes without a remedy. They always begin by poisoning their children, then some of the slaves who are most useful to their masters, such as the refiners, carpenters, or masons. Thus they have, before they die, the pleasure of seeing their masters exasperated and ruined by the loss of their slaves. They usually employ slow poisons, the effects of which endure for several months; thereby enjoying, for a long time, the only revenge they can practise on their oppressors; because, for themselves, they consider death as a benefit and passage to a better life. It is very remarkable, that, when a negro has taken a resolution to ruin his master, by poisoning his gang, he is never informed against by his comrades, though they generally know who the poisoner is, and that each expects to perish by the effects of his vengeance: they preserve his secret inviolably, which is often difficult to learn from them, even in the midst of punishments! Then the proprietor, who sees his fortune ruined by the daily deaths of his slaves, demands from government the appointment of a commission for trying the poisoners. These commissions bear, in the French colonies, the name of burning chambers, and they are well termed. The proprietor or his overseer fills the office of accuser and judge at the same time: in this simulation of a trial, where sentence is always pronounced at the will of the proprietor, who is at once accuser, witness, reporter, and judge, pretended sorcerers are often employed to find out the guilty. These men have great influence on the minds of the negroes, and are themselves poisoners by profession. It happens even, at times, that great proprietors consider themselves sufficiently powerful to do what they call justice, in their blind fury at home, and which consists in burning, by their private authority, the negroes they believe to have been guilty of poisoning. That which ruins the greater part of the proprietors, is the mortality of the negroes: of a thousand transported from Africa, grief or ill-usage destroys one-third, in the first three months after their arrival; and, at the end of six or seven years, seven or eight tenths of the others are dead! In Trinidad, Tobago, and Grenada, it is considered very fortunate, when, of thirty young negroes bought in the course of a year, there may be six in good health five years afterwards. On the greater part of the plantations the negroes have few children; a third of those children do not reach the

the age of one year, and the half of another third never arrive at the age of four, the period at which they are considered as escaped, according to the expression of the country.

The negro population increases on all the plantations that are administered with humanity. Amongst the establishments which I can mention most favourably, are, in the first place, those of the religious missionaries of Martinico and Guadaloupe, where the negroes were treated in a patriarchal manner, and instructed on principles of religion, and in which neither concubinage nor adultery is permitted. Many other estates are managed with great humanity: those which I have most known, are the plantations of Fortier, Du Buc, at the Grand Fond and Gallion, of Lucy, Fossarieu, &c.; in Martinico and Guadaloupe, the plantations of Poyen, Gondrecourt, Desislets, and Decressoniere, Bellegarde, &c. I believe that on the greater part of the plantations in the British and French colonies the negroes are humanely treated, and merely name those more particularly known to me for good administration.

THE CARIBS.

Much difference exists between the Caribs and the other tribes of the united provinces of Venezuela, the great physical and intellectual superiority of the former appearing to prove that they have had a different and more noble origin. Though they were as far removed from civilization as the Parias when the Europeans first arrived, still the Caribs considered, and to this day think, themselves a privileged race. They speak of the other savages with as much contempt and disdain, as the ignorant and illiberal part of a certain insular nation speak of all other people. However unjust the pretensions of the Caribs are, however ridiculous savages may be who pretend to exercise a paramount right over other savages like themselves, it is nevertheless true, that the hereditary habits of command on one side, and of servitude and fear on the other, have produced, amongst the inhabitants of the forests, the same effects as between civilized nations. Among the first, they have engendered frankness, courage, and generosity,—qualities which result from the consciousness of strength and power, with the abuse of them which men are liable to make who have naturally a bad disposition; and, amongst the persecuted and degraded tribes, perfidy and cowardice, flattery and egotism.

According to the principle I venture

to adopt, the Arroouaks, Guaraouns, and Guahiros of the Rio de la Hache, must be considered as descendants of the Carib nation. Every thing induces a belief that those are remains of the conquering race; and that the Salives, Chaynas, Ottomaques, and Parias, belong to an indigenous and conquered race. It is a circumstance well worth the most serious meditations of those who study the philosophical history of the human species, to see savage tribes living in the same climate, using nearly the same food, each as little influenced at present by European civilization, yet completely distinguished physically and morally by features as opposite as those which separate the Caucasian race from the Mogul, and the latter from the European, named by zoologists the Arab Caucasian race.

*** It is proposed to insert a correct Map of these Provinces, in our Number to be published Feb. 1.*

A DESCRIPTION OF THE WESTERN ISLANDS OF SCOTLAND, INCLUDING THE ISLE OF MAN.

Comprising an Account of their Geological Structure; with Remarks on their Agriculture, Scenery, and Antiquities.

By JOHN MACCULLOCH, M.D.

In Three Volumes.—Price 3l. 3s.

[Of this most interesting and most valuable work we have spoken at large, in our Magazine published Nov. 1.]

THE WESTERN ISLANDS.

FOR the purpose of rendering the physical description of these islands more intelligible in a topographic view, and more interesting to the geologist in a scientific one, I have divided them into five distinct groups. These are distinguished by the names of

The Gneiss;
The Trap;
The Sandstone;
The Schistose;

And the Clyde islands. The four first are associations strictly natural, since a community of structure, with a considerable geographical connexion, pervades each group. The last is founded chiefly on geographical community of position in the islands it includes; although, even in this, certain common characters will be found in a greater or less degree to predominate through the whole.

It is impossible to cast our eyes on the map, without being struck by the general north-easterly tendency, not only of the western coast, but of the leading valleys and

and ridges of Scotland. An analogous disposition will be found to prevail in these islands; and the variations, which occasionally amount to a few points on the continental shore, will receive illustration from circumstances that will come under review, in giving the details of the individual islands. These bearings of the coast, and of the ridges of hills, will be seen, in most cases, to follow the directions of the strata, as will be exemplified in Sky, and in many other places; although in a few, as in Bute for example, there is a want of this coincidence. We may expect that, in a certain degree, similar rocks will be found on the prolonged bearings of those which have been ascertained; and, as far as my observations have gone, such continuations can be traced over a space at least sufficient to regulate considerably the plan of any geologist who shall pursue the investigation of the neighbouring main-land. Causes too well known to require mention, limit the assistance [to be derived from this circumstance; yet, when the islands shall have been described, it will be seen that a considerable step has been gained, and a point of departure fixed for the future examination of the Highland and mountainous division of Scotland.

THE GNEISS ISLANDS.

The first group, in the order of examination that I have adopted, is that of the Gneiss islands. The greatest body of this rock occupies the outer chain of the western isles, which is so nearly identical from one end to the other, as to admit of little variety in description. The next portion, in point of dimension, forms the chain of Coll and Tirey; while Iona, separated from these by a wide channel, may almost be considered as independent. Rona, and the northern part of Rasay, present a tract equally independent, and far removed from all the others.

IONA.

The historical and antiquarian celebrity of this little island renders it an object of perpetual attraction to the numerous visitors who now annually frequent these regions, so lately almost unknown to any but the natives, and those immediately connected with them. Being easy of access, and occupying but little of the time usually allotted to Staffa, the prime object of attraction, it is the resort of all who have, in defiance of the rude seas or still ruder rocks of Mull, penetrated thus far, either in search of the picturesque, or for the gratification of general curio-

sity. Added to this, the descriptions of Cordiner, Pennant, and others, with the remarks of Dr. Johnson, have made its history nearly as familiar as its name; giving it, in fact, an importance to which it possesses no claims, either from the antiquity or extent, the beauty or curiosity, of its architectural remains. In any other situation, the remains of Iona would be consigned to neglect and oblivion; but, connected as they are with an age distinguished for the ferocity of its manners and its independence of regular government, standing a solitary monument of religion and literature, such as religion and literature then were, the mind imperceptibly recurs to the time when this island was the "light of the western world," "a gem in the ocean;" and is led to contemplate with veneration its silent and ruined structures. Even at a distance, the aspect of the cathedral, insignificant as its dimensions are, produces a strong feeling of delight in him who, long coasting the rugged and barren rocks of Mull, or buffeted by turbulent waves, beholds its tower first rising out of the deep; giving to this desolate region an air of civilization, and recalling the consciousness of that human society, which, presenting elsewhere no visible traces, seems to have abandoned these rocky shores to the cormorant and the sea-gull.

The population amounts to 450, the rent to 300*l.*; and the land is divided into distinct crofts, in the manner now becoming generally prevalent. This division is but recent, Iona, like most of the farms of the western islands, having been, till lately, held in run-rig, as it is called, and each farm annually divided by lot.*

The number of persons above mentioned corresponds to about ninety families; five and a fraction constituting the average of a Highland family. Thus three pounds, or thirteen shillings per individual, becomes the annual rent of a tenement of land, the house having no value: and this, with some fluctuation in different places, will be found to represent pretty nearly the average rent of an individual throughout these islands.

ANTIQUITIES.

It is difficult to conjecture whether there are any remains so ancient as the time of St. Columba. If there are any

* Absurd enough; but the only alternative, is not to let the whole in one, two, or three, large farms, as the author cruelly suggests.—EDITOR.

such, they are probably to be found among the monumental stones, and among the crowd of those which are mixed together, of all ages, and in different styles, of which many have also been removed, and again replaced for purposes of recent interment, it would be impossible to distinguish those of high antiquity, deficient as they probably are both in sculpture and inscriptions. To search for such remains among the buildings appears useless, since the state of society in these regions, in the middle of the sixth century, when Columba landed, must have rendered the early settlers incapable of erecting permanent works in stone and lime, the use of which was an improvement belonging to much later times. The original abbey, improperly so called, (since the introduction of monastic regimen was long posterior to the time of Columba,) appears to have been built of wattles; a species of structure equally used in South Britain in the common dwellings, as in the earliest religious edifices after the introduction of Christianity, and recorded in the history of the foundation of Glastonbury: a practice from which some antiquaries, following the hints thrown out by Warburton, have attempted to deduce a visionary theory of the origin of Gothic architecture. An imaginary high antiquity has been assigned to the present buildings; no record of the real times of their erection having survived the decree of the synod of Argyll, which overturned all that a mob of reformers was capable of destroying, and dispersed, together with the library of the monastery, (the object of regrets perhaps much misplaced,) all the writings which could have thrown light on the subject.

If it were possible to draw a permanent and effectual distinction between the earliest specimens of this style of architecture and those which followed the Norman invasion, we should be perhaps justified in referring St. Oran's chapel, which bears marks of the highest antiquity, to the Saxon age. The smallness of its scale, which is sixty feet by twenty, its general rudeness, and the perpetual repetition of the chevron moulding in the low circular arch that forms the doorway, assimilate it to those buildings in England which have been supposed prior to the eleventh century. But architects are too little satisfied with respect to Saxon buildings, to admit of such a decision: it can only be presumed from the poverty of the style and execution; circumstances which might easily have

arisen from the poverty of the monastery, and the peculiar remoteness of its situation. The tombs within, of which one is placed under a canopy of three pointed arches, offer no objection to such a distant origin, as these are all evidently posterior to the building itself.

The chapel of the nunnery is, perhaps, the next in order of antiquity, the arches being also round, but without ornament; and, as the whole style of the building partakes of the general plan of the Norman churches before ornaments came into use, and previous to any appearance of the pointed arch, or of the other peculiarities which were introduced at a later date, I should be inclined, from internal evidence, to place it beyond the twelfth century.

The structure of St. Mary's church, which was at the same time the abbey church and the cathedral of the diocese of the Isles, bespeaks a later origin, and cannot be referred to a date more distant than the early part of the thirteenth century, if it be even of an antiquity so high. It is in the form of a cross, with a square tower at the intersection, but of small dimensions, and executed in a manner which bespeaks both the limited means of the founders, and the inexpertness of the artists; circumstances in general sufficiently visible in a great number of the ecclesiastical remains of Scotland. The length from east to west is about one hundred and twenty feet, and that of the transept about seventy. The tower is about seventy feet in height.

GRAVE-STONES.

It is impossible to form any conjecture respecting the unsculptured grave-stones, or even about those which are rudely sculptured and bear no inscription. Tradition is on this subject of no value. It is sufficient to remark, that one of the earliest actually bearing a date, is the tomb of Lachlan M'Kinnon, in 1489. That of the Abbot M'Kinnon, which is in the choir of the cathedral, is of 1500; that of the Prioress Anna, of 1511. These inscriptions are in the Saxon character. There are also some traces of inscriptions in the Gaelic alphabet to be seen, but undated. It is perhaps incumbent on a mineralogist to state, that the Abbot M'Kinnon's tomb is neither formed of black marble, nor basalt, both of which have been asserted by different observers; but of a micaceous schist, with a mixture of hornblende. The botanist must also be told, that the byssus ioli-

thus does not grow on this tomb, as mentioned by Lightfoot, but on that of the Abbot Kenneth, opposite, one of the Mackenzies of Seaforth. The sculptures on the best of these are but indifferent, if we except those that consist of mere tracery; in which we are often at a loss whether most to admire the persevering intricacy of the designs, or the refractory nature of the material in which they have been executed, which is, I believe, invariably, mica slate. Swords, ships, and armorial bearings, with ill-executed bas-reliefs of warriors, form the chief objects of the others. The ships are the most interesting, as serving to give us an idea of the knowledge which these islanders possessed of navigation. The prow and stern are alike, and protracted into long curves upwards, like many of the galleys of the Romans. The latter is furnished with a well-constructed rudder, and the rigging consists of a single square sail, placed amidships, the yard being slung in the centre, and furnished with braces aft. There is no appearance of a provision for rowing, nor is there any bowsprit. As the sail is fastened to the yard by four points only, it is probable that these ships, or rather boats, were but of small dimensions. The occasional addition of the ship on the grave-stone, may perhaps suggest the idea, that the persons whom these stones record were not interred on the spot, but that it signified the tomb to be honorary, like the *ἑστία* of the Greeks, and erected to the memory of one whose body lay in a foreign land, or was buried in the ocean. The frequent mention, in the ancient poetry of this country, of the pleasure which the ghosts of the deceased derived from the contemplation of their own "grey stones," and the "calling on the ghost" to the habitation which was erected for the body, (the *ψυχαστάσις*) present analogies between the Greek and Celtic superstitions on the subject of funerals, which, while they bespeak, like many other circumstances, a common though distant origin, give a colour to this opinion.

The number of the tombs here is great; but much disturbance has taken place among them from recent interments; and, it is probable, that many also have disappeared, in consequence of the progress of agriculture, and the re-edification of cottages. At this moment, no conjecture can be formed

respecting the distinct funereal allotments of the kings of Scotland, Ireland, and Norway; of which we have nevertheless sufficient historical record in the narrative of Dean Monroe. It is not easy to wander among these remains uninfluenced by the recollections they are calculated to excite. He who can here abstract himself from the living objects round him, and abandon his mind to the visions of the past, will long after recur, with feelings of pleasing melancholy, to the few hours which he has spent among the tombs of Iona.

AGRICULTURE.

In describing the system of agriculture followed in these islands, I shall confine myself chiefly to the ancient practices, which are still the most prevalent. It would be superfluous to dwell on the recent improvements which have been adopted, corresponding as they do with the more perfect systems in general use. Time is however rapidly diminishing the number of these ancient usages, and the progress of improvement is, if slowly yet certainly, confining them within a smaller circle. When ancient systems are discovered to be prejudices, their downfall is not distant.

Under the ancient system of policy and manners, a scanty and imperfect cultivation of corn was limited to the few spots surrounding villages (if such they might be called) which were immediately under the eyes of the cultivators, and thus more secure from destruction by an enemy;—a consideration of importance at a time when every great family was an independent state, and these states were in perpetual hostility. Sheep were, from their habits, ill adapted to the system of pasturage connected with this condition of things, the chief wealth of the inhabitants consisting in cattle;—the constant objects of depredation, and the fruitful sources of war. Under such a system, a scanty population with difficulty found a supply of food, and the obvious consequences are too apparent throughout the whole history of the country, to a period even as late as the middle of the last century.

The stranger who for the first time visits this country, sees with surprise scanty crops of corn distributed in detached beds of earth, which have been collected for its cultivation, or so disposed among a labyrinth of rocks, that scarcely an uninterrupted space of half
a road,

a rood, often of only a few square yards, is to be seen together; while the shortness of the straw and the thinness of the ear, mark the struggles which even this miserable crop has made for existence. He again sees this crop exposed to the storms of August, or drenched in the rains, perhaps for weeks after it has been cut down, and probably laments that human industry should be so far mis-directed; while, like many even of the natives themselves, he will condemn any further attempts to increase or improve this department of rural economy.

The ancient system consisted in producing crops of corn, either with or without manure, as that could be procured from the richest fields; and this practice was continued till the land refused to bear any longer: such grass or weeds as happened to grow on it, were then suffered to accumulate for a series of years, and the same process was repeated in a perpetual rotation. The natural pastures were at the same time grazed by the indigenous cattle, by which they were almost invariably overstocked to such a degree, that numbers died at the end of every winter. Finally, the farms held in run-rig or common, were overrun with superfluous horses. Such is still the fundamental part of the present system, where better practices have not been introduced; and these are far from bearing even a tolerable proportion to the whole. Isla, Colonsa, Gigha, Sky, Mull, Coll, Rasay, and a few tracts in the Long Island, exhibit in fact almost the only exceptions.

If the details of the tillage be examined, they will be found as defective as the general plan. No winter or autumnal ploughing is used, but this operation is conducted in the spring in a most inefficient and slovenly manner. The traveller who chances not to arrive until the harvest is ready, may be surprised to see so many examples of what he will imagine to be the modern drill-husbandry, but will soon discover that the appearance arises from the seed having been sown after one ploughing. Thus it is lodged in the furrows, where it is afterwards imperfectly covered by a bad harrow; producing a late crop, yet not a clean one, while the advantages arising from deep ploughing are neglected. Cases indeed occur of soils so light and sandy, as in Tirey and many parts of the Long Island, where neither the ground nor

the seed could resist the efforts of the wind, were it thoroughly ploughed. In such cases, the interest of the farmer, as well as that of his neighbours, would be to avoid ploughing altogether, and to lay down such fields in grass. But two causes prevent this:—the temptation offered by sea-weed, and the smallness of farms, which compel the little tenant, who possibly has no other land but a driving sand, to procure a crop of corn from it on the best terms he can;—an argument among many, which will occur at every step, for a different division, and in many cases for an enlargement, of farms.

The reader must perceive, that, under the system described, scarcely any notion is entertained of the rotation of crops, or of the advantages to be derived from it. Fallowing is not practised, perhaps it might not often be required. Where potatoes have been planted, either on old ridges or for the bringing-in of waste-lands, a large quantity of manure is applied; and this serves generally for the crops of corn that are to succeed, although a small quantity is occasionally used with them. Barley thus succeeds to potatoes, while that again is followed by oats, for two or three, or even a greater number of years, till the land fairly refuses to yield more. In other cases, the barley is sown with manure, and the oats follow as before. Turnips, pease, beans, grass-seeds, and clover, are unknown; and the art of farming is thus at least reduced to a system which it requires but little knowledge to conduct. Not so however the expense, which is great, in proportion to the imperfection of the modes and the scantiness of the produce.

The species of barley exclusively used is bear, which, from its early ripening and other qualities, is best adapted to the climate; and which seems not to admit of any better substitute, or of any other improvement, than that of a more careful selection of the seed.

The sickle is invariably used in reaping all grain, although the necessity of expedition in the process of harvesting, arising from the uncertainty of the climate, would suggest the scythe as preferable, wherever the roughness of the surface does not prevent its use.

Great part of the straw is used in thatching, and the thatch, being ill applied, requires constant renewal, in-

ducing a wasteful expenditure of this scarce and useful article. An additional waste is produced by the process of burning or graddaning, as it is called; used in some places for converting the corn quickly into bread. The grain is roasted while in the sheaf in the flame of the straw, more than a third part of which is thus destroyed: the taste of this bread is agreeable, although its complexion is black; but the practice is now becoming rare. More usually the oats, like the barley, are kiln-dried in the ear, and then ground into meal.

The cultivation of potatoes is practised in these islands to a great extent, and with success; and the effect of it, in bettering the condition of the people, and in increasing their numbers, has, as in all other instances, been very great. It is perhaps not over-rating the use of this root to say, that it forms more than two-thirds of the food of the people. It was not introduced without difficulty; but such a breach once made in the philosophy of a country, is an earnest of the possibility of further improvements, when sufficient arguments can be produced in their favour.

As the cultivation of grasses forms no part of the ancient system, the hay of the islands is the produce of natural meadows, and, in many cases, of waste scraps of land, whence it is cut and saved at a great expense of labour and time; while it is also contaminated with rushes and other aquatic plants, the usual inhabitants of such situations. Scarcely any attention, except some feeble attempts towards draining, is bestowed on the meadows; which are left, as they were found, to the care of Nature.

The cultivation of flax is carried on, but to an inconsiderable extent; and, as may easily be imagined, not in the best manner. That of hemp is still more limited; indeed, it can scarcely be said to exist, since it is only occasionally seen in small patches; the produce being confined to the very limited consumption of the country, in the shape of twine or fishing-lines.

The system of pasturage forms the remaining and the chief branch of the rural economy of the Islands. It is evident, that the high mountain pastures, which constitute the principal part of the country, are in a great measure incapable of improvement; but the natives seem unfortunately to have

formed the same opinion respecting the lower ones, and thus to have neglected those obvious improvements of enclosing, top-dressing, draining, or laying-down to grass, after occasional cultivation, by which their value would be so materially increased. The possible improvements of that which may be called waste-land, may also be considered as pointing rather to an ameliorated system of pasturage, than to agriculture, properly speaking. The chief part of such wastes is moor-land, formed principally of a mixed and dry peaty soil, commonly thin, and placed on a bottom of gravel or coarse clay; the produce consisting chiefly of heaths, with several coarse grasses and some mosses. Where these lands approach the sea, the growth of such plants is checked, and at last destroyed; a fine green pasture succeeding, which, under proper management, is capable of producing good crops of corn. The shores of the Long Island, wherever the numerous inlets of the sea intersect these moors, show striking examples of the fertilizing powers which the vicinity of the salt-water possesses; or else of the influence which it exerts in preventing the growth of bog-plants, and the consequent generation of peat. The same effects are produced by the application of calcareous manures; under which treatment the useless plants disappear, and are succeeded by clover and valuable grasses. An excellent black mould is formed in a few years, when cultivation has followed that practice; and this is more particularly the case in those islands where the substratum is of trap. The same effect of converting the moor-land into green pasture is produced by turning the surface, while the pasturing of cattle prevents it from returning to its primitive state. The expense is, in many cases, a serious obstacle to any of these modes of improvement, and in certain situations an insurmountable one; but they are, nevertheless, applicable to many thousands of acres now nearly useless, from which the returns would be both immediate and profitable. Those who have wandered over the brown and bare lands of Lewis, or of Sky, may easily imagine the different aspect these islands would assume, were such improvements carried into effect.

It is well known, that the rearing of black cattle for exportation forms the basis of the pasturage of the islands. These

These are almost invariably exported in a lean state, and are generally purchased on the spot by itinerant drovers; the risk and expense of freight making, in many cases, a serious deduction from the value of the animal. No attempts have been made to fatten stock for salting; a plan which, with great probability, might in many of the islands be adopted with advantage. Nor is there any system of dairy farming, farther than is required to meet the current demands of the cultivator himself; since neither butter nor cheese can be said to form articles of export.

The breeds of cattle are small, and do not materially vary in the several islands; except where they have, in the improved ones, experienced recent attention: and it seems generally thought that they are not susceptible of any exchange for the better, nor of any other amelioration than such as may be founded on a good selection of individuals. Compared to the breeding of cattle, that of sheep must be considered as a modern improvement, or an innovation upon the ancient system. Formerly this animal was only reared for domestic consumption; and St. Kilda is now the only island where the ancient breed, supposed to be of Norwegian extraction, is still to be seen retaining exclusive possession of the soil. This wretched race is nearly extirpated every-where else, having given way to that variety known by the name of the Tweedale breed; the Cheviot having been as yet but partially introduced, and not being at present expected, from the circumstances of the climate, to gain an extensive footing.

Few circumstances in the system of Highland farming are more remarkable to a stranger than the enormous number of horses kept; a practice, however, which is fast expiring. It is a moderate statement to say, that there are three times more than are necessary; since there was recently a common farm, even in Sky, possessing forty horses, where the whole work might have been performed with six. They are sometimes shod on the fore feet, often not at all; yet, when habituated to it, will travel without injury over the most stony roads, the feet acquiring an unusual degree of hardness, and justifying, as well as the practices of the ancients, the notion that the shoe may, in many cases, and under certain systems of work, be entirely dispensed with. Many of the

islands, and among these Tirey and Coll, do not even possess a shoeing smith. There is no regular system of breeding for exportation, unless it be in Isla and Jura; and even in these it is not carried to any extent.

Asses and mules are unknown in these islands, although they would probably be found of use as substitutes for horses, from their greater facility in feeding.

Goats have nearly disappeared; and the few that are yet to be seen appertain generally to wealthy tenants, rather as objects of variety or of amusement, than profit.

There are few things more remarkable to a stranger who has been accustomed to the cottages of the South, than the total want of gardens, or even of any cultivated vegetable, beyond the potatoe. It is not an exaggeration, I believe, to say, that there is not a culinary vegetable in the country, except in the establishments of the proprietors and principal farmers; nor are even all those exempt from censure, for their neglect of this department of rural economy.

COLL.

The dimensions of Coll are very similar to those of Tirey, its extreme length being about twelve miles, and its mean breadth somewhat less than three. In the general outline of the coast it also resembles that island, although the extent of the rocky shores is perhaps greater, in proportion, to that of the sandy bays. It differs, however, materially in its general aspect and surface, being so much covered with rocky hills and protuberances, as scarcely any-where to exhibit a continuous level or grassy plain. Towards the northern end of the island these indeed abound to such a degree, that, when viewed from a low point of sight, it seems to present but one entire surface of rocks. Notwithstanding this aspect of barrenness, it is interspersed with green spots of greater or less magnitude, which are estimated to comprise, in arable, meadow, and pasture land, about one-third of its extent.

BARRA.

This island is of a very irregular and indented shape, containing but a small surface compared with its extreme dimensions, which are ten miles in length by seven in breadth. If indeed the hill above Kilbar be considered only as an appendage, its length will be reduced to seven miles. This appendage of Barra consists of a single hill, connected with the

the remainder of the island by a flat sand, over which the western and eastern seas almost meet at high-water. They have probably been at one time separate islands, subsequently united by the sandy isthmus which the action of the waters has thrown up; nor is it impossible that, in some of the revolutions to which these shores seem exposed, they may again be separated.

A small fresh-water lake is to be seen at the southern end of this island, containing the ruins of a tower; the residence of some ancient chief, or a place of refuge for his family. There are no other lakes of any note, and not a single permanent stream of water exists in the country. A few dry channels of water-courses are visible on the sides of the hills, which an occasional shower fills, but which are speedily drained, on its cessation. Springs are almost equally deficient,—a character which will be found very general throughout the remainder of the islands connected with Barra: other general features pervade the whole.

VATERSA, SANDERA, PABBA, MULDONICH,
MINGALA, BERNERA.

These islands, together with a few islets of little note, form an irregular group to the south of Barra; the latter, which is the southernmost point of the Long Isle, being popularly known by the name of Barra Head. As the composition of the whole is similar, and as they present but little interest, a very brief notice of them will suffice.

Vatersa is a small island, consisting of two distinct hills, connected by a flat sandy bar, where the opposing seas nearly meet. This small tract exhibits the broken remains of sand-hills, standing to mark the changes which the land has undergone by the gradual and alternate accumulation and dispersion of these banks.

These islands are all composed of gneiss, differing in no way from that of Barra, already described. Vatersa offers perhaps more conspicuous examples of contortion and instances equally beautiful of the reticulations of the trap veins; while, as in the little island of Fudia, oxidulous iron is occasionally to be seen in the granite veins.

It was settled in the evening that we should visit Barra Head on the following morning. Unfortunately the laird's only boat had been left on the beach without an anchor a few days before, whence it was carried away by the tide and dashed to pieces. But there was an expedient

at hand, as there was another boat in the island, and it was borrowed for the occasion. In the morning, when ready to embark, it was discovered that the borrowed oars had been negligently left on the beach on the preceding evening, and had, like the former boat, been carried away by the tide. There was now a boat, but there were no oars. Oars could be borrowed somewhere: they would be ready at some time in the day;—at twelve or one o'clock;—it would not be many hours too late;—we could only be benighted in returning. By the time the oars had been sent for, it was discovered that the boatmen and servants were all absent cutting peat in a neighbouring island. But it was possible to find another expedient for this, by procuring some of the islanders. A messenger was accordingly sent for four men. In the meantime the borrowed oars of one fisherman were fitted to the borrowed boat of another, but alas! all the islanders were absent making kelp. Thus the day was spent in arranging expedients and in removing obstacles. Thus is life spent in the Highlands; and thus will it be spent by him who trusts to Highland arrangements for the accomplishment of his objects.

ERISKA, FUDIA, HELLESA, GIA.

Numerous islands lie in the strait between Barra and South Uist, and on the eastern shore of the former, one small chain of which separates the harbour Bahiravah from Ottervore road. The composition of the whole is precisely the same.

Eriska is the boundary of Ottervore toward the north, and is separated from South Uist by a narrow and rocky sound, being of considerable extent when compared with the neighbouring islands. On a detached and high rock at its southern end are to be seen the remains of a square tower, the ancient residence of some turbulent chieftain. This island offers also a circumstance of historical interest, having been the first place on which Prince Charles landed while on his voyage from France to Arasaik, where his disembarkation took place.

SOUTH UIST.

This island, the most extensive of the group which constitutes the southern half of the exterior chain, is separated from Barra by the islands of Fudia, Eriska, and some smaller ones, and by a sound interspersed with sunk rocks. Excepting the sound of Harris, this is the only one throughout the whole chain which affords passage to ships; but it is dreaded

dreaded by mariners even more than that strait, on account of the distance to which the dangerous ground extends westward. From Benbecula, at its northern extremity, it is also separated by a shallow strait interspersed with rocks and flat islands, intricate beyond description. The retiring tide leaves a bar of sand, which is so nearly uncovered at low-water, as to admit of a communication between the two islands. On the eastern side the coast is rocky throughout, although scarcely ever precipitous; and the water is deep, with a clean shore. On the western it presents one uniform flat shore of sand, free from outlying rocks.

The total length of South Uist is twenty miles, and its greatest breadth about nine. It may readily be divided into two nearly equal portions, by an imaginary but irregular line extending north and south. The western half affords no subjects for the mineralogist, presenting one uniform alluvial flat of peat, interspersed with numerous lakes, and skirted toward the shore with sand.

Of the innumerable islands which are found in Loch Skipton and in Kyleslewsa, interposed between South Uist and Benbecula, I examined only a few. They all appear to be portions of the same rock which constitutes the rest of the country, among the protuberances of which the water insinuating itself, has generated a multitudinous archipelago, which no patience could investigate, unless under greater temptations than those presented by gneiss. The similarity in the structure of Benbecula, adds a sufficient confirmation of the truth of this conjecture.

BENBECULA.

This island is seven miles in length and eight in breadth, being of an oval shape. Although divided by a channel from the north end of South Uist, it is, in a general view, undistinguishable; the division produced by that channel being so intricate and narrow as to be often invisible.

The eastern side of the island, and the eastern portions of the northern and southern boundaries, are characterized by those tortuous and intricate indentations of the shores which occur in South Uist. But they far exceed these in their capricious sinuosities; forming a labyrinth, from which a stranger, attempting to move among them, whether by land or water, is unable to extricate himself. Of these indentations Loch Uskevagh is the most remarkable, occupying a space

of ten or twelve miles in circumference, in which the land and water are dispersed among each other in such equal proportions and such minute divisions, that it is difficult to say which predominates.

Surprising and pleasing as this scenery is, it offers nothing picturesque, from the almost absolute identity of the parts and the lowness of the land; which, consequently, possesses no features adapted to landscape, void as it is of trees and of discriminating objects. Nature may be truly said to have here wasted her capabilities on a climate to which she has refused vegetation, nay, almost denied a soil. The imagination may paint these watery regions, situated in a fine climate, with sunny skies, adorned with trees, decked with flowers, and embellished with works of art; and may, with Mirza, in its dreams, transport itself to the flowery islands of the Blessed. But the spectator soon rouses himself from his trance, and sees grey rocks covered with brown heath, and shores deformed with sea-weeds, among which a rising and a falling tide alternately conceals and exposes a bottom of dark ooze.

POPULATION.

Benbecula, like Barra, and other parts of this outer chain, affords one of the most striking examples of that redundancy of population for which the Highlands have in many places been so frequently remarked. It is a question too interesting to be passed over in absolute silence; although a very slight notice alone of this and similar subjects is compatible with the design of this work. It has hitherto been discussed with much warmth, in consequence of its connection with many interests: the judgment of an uninterested person, although perhaps less competent to treat it, will at any rate be unbiassed. But we must not stumble at the threshold of the argument. A population is redundant, whatever be its absolute numbers, where the labourers, whether, as here, in the shape of kelp-makers, of farmers, or of fishermen, are without sufficient employment; and where, without an increase of it, they are unable to command a fair proportion of the necessaries of life. No one who is acquainted with this country can doubt the fact itself, as far as relates to the means of living, which are not the less deficient because the deficiency is universal. Riches and poverty to a certain extent may be relative; but there is a point at which poverty is absolute, and where it does not cease to be an evil, although divested of those additional grievances

grievances which are the result of a comparison with superior wealth.

I need not describe at large the beneficial change which has taken place in many parts of the Highlands, by the alteration in the mode of letting farms, since it is now generally known. It is sufficient to say, that but few instances remain of the ancient mode of tenure in common or by run-rig; the separation of each common farm into separate crofts or holdings having been adopted by most proprietors, and with evident advantages to all parties. In consequence of this system in some measure, but partly also from the assignment of new lands to many of these crofters, accommodation has been found on the main-land in many instances for a much greater number of people than before; while a great deal of fresh land has been brought in, from the new stimulus given to the industry of the people, by the possession of an independent kind of property, instead of a lax interest in a joint and often-changing lot. In consequence of this arrangement, it has happened, that large tracts have been thrown into sheep-farms, with little difficulty or distress from the removal of the ancient tenants, while the produce of the estate, and the proprietor's revenue,* have been materially increased.

The Englishman, to whom the habits and feelings of this people are unknown, will be surprised that such a state of things can exist at all, and not less so, to find that it is difficult to apply a remedy. He expects that the natural overflowing of people in one place will, without effort, discharge its superfluity on those where there is a deficiency. He is unacquainted with the pertinacity with which the Highlanders adhere to their place of birth; and that, it would seem, exactly in the inverse ratio of all apparent causes of attraction. At the same time it must be remarked, that the insulated state, the peculiar habits, and the language of these people, present additional obstacles to migration; and that many changes, yet far distant, must be made, before such a free communication shall be established, as shall allow it to take place without effort and without pain,—before it shall become a current part of the system of action.

It is said in recent writings, that the islands furnish some thousands of soldiers to the service, and the statement is always adorned with an eulogium on the

* Is this a primary object with a moral economist?—EDIT.

military character and the military propensities of the natives. The character of those who are soldiers admits of no question; but it must not be made use of, to cover an unfounded assertion respecting their military propensities. They are every-where notably averse to the army; and I do not say, without abundant information, that it probably would be impossible to raise a single recruit by beat of drum, or a single volunteer for the navy, throughout the Islands; more particularly in those where the population is the most crowded and most needy; in other words, where the ancient habits are most prevalent. It is doubtful, if the whole of the islands possess at this moment an hundred men in both services. Sky, with a population of at least 16,000, has not a man in the army. The same is true of Arran, less remote, yet equally under the influence of the ancient system.

NORTH UIST.

This island is the northernmost of that division of the Long Island which is made by the sound of Harris; bearing, at the same time, many physical marks by which it is distinguished from the remainder of the chain northwards. It is of an irregularly rounded triangular shape, its greatest length being sixteen miles, and its greatest breadth about thirteen.

KELP.

Having mentioned the kelp of Loch Maddy, I may extend the remarks on this manufacture for a few lines; since it is almost the only one which may be said to exist in the islands, and since its establishment, although but recent, has made so material an addition to the value of these estates, and to the demand for labour. The total produce of the western islands in kelp varies from 5000 to 6000 tons, of which two-thirds are the produce of the Long Island; the result of its highly-indented shores, and of the consequent extent of surface, as well as of the superior tranquillity, of the waters in which the plants grow.

In general, it may be remarked, that the kelp is reserved by the proprietor, and manufactured on his account,—a very questionable piece of policy in some points of view. A large portion of the population is employed for the three summer months in the manufacture, which is so laborious and severe as to have no parallel in this country; certainly, at least, not at the same rate of wages. This labour has been called compulsory, and in one sense it may be considered

dered a servitude, since it is generally the condition of tenure, and either the whole or a portion of the rent by which the tenant holds his farm.

As far as relates to the details of this manufacture, they seem to have been for some years past in a state of rapid improvement, and to have attained, on many of the estates, in consequence of the attention of the proprietors or their agents, all the perfection of which they are susceptible. The time occupied in it, as I before remarked, is about three months, namely, June, July, and August. Drift-weed, thrown on the shores by storms, and consisting chiefly of *fucus digitatus* and *saccharinus*, is used to a certain extent when fresh and uninjured; but the greater part is procured by cutting other plants of this tribe at low-water. Soda is well known to abound most in the hardest fuci, the *serratus*, *digitatus*, *nodosus*, and *vesiculosus*. On some estates they are cut biennially, on others once in three years: nor does it seem to be ascertained what are the relative advantages or disadvantages of these different practices. The weed is burnt in a coffer of stones, a construction which, however rude it may appear, seems fully adequate to the purpose.

The method of landing the weed after cutting, is simple and ingenious. A rope of heath or birch-twigs is laid at low-water beyond the portion cut, and the ends are brought up on the shore. At high-water, the whole being afloat together, the rope is drawn at each end, and the included material is thus compelled, at the retiring tide, to settle on the line of high-water mark.

The quantity of sea-weed required to make a ton of kelp, is estimated, as I have already noticed, at twenty-four tons, but varies, according to the state of its moisture; and hence a conception of the labour employed in this manufacture may be formed, since the whole must be cut, carried on horses, spread out, dried, and stacked, before it is ready for burning.

PEAT.

The peat in this country is in general of considerable depth, reaching from ten to twenty feet downwards, and almost always incumbent on a body of alluvial gravel, or on the bare rock. In some situations it is found to repose on a bed of fine and soft but not tenacious pale greyish clay, which, on burning, is converted into a white powder, and applied by the natives to the purposes of scouring or polishing metallic utensils. It is a

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porcelain clay, resulting from the decomposition of the felspar in the gneiss.

The peat of North Uist, as well as that of many other parts of the Long Island, is in a state of extreme decomposition at its lower parts. On this account, it forms, when dried, a compact substance of great density, which is incapable of being again affected by exposure to rain, and which requires therefore no protection when completed. Its specific gravity is much greater than that of ordinary peat. It burns with so bright a flame, as to supersede the necessity of light in the cottages of the natives, and with a glow of heat equal to that of the inferior kinds of coal; while it is capable of being formed into a compact charcoal, fit for the purposes of the blacksmith. The introduction of a few remarks on the formation of this substance will hardly be deemed to require excuse, as it is a question intimately connected with geology.

In general, it forms but a single stratum, bedded on the rock, or on the alluvial matter above. Occasionally, however, it is found alternating with sand, clay, gravel, or shell-marl. The latter alternation is the most remarkable, and occurs only when the peat has been formed under-water, or when, after the drainage or extermination of a lake, it has grown above the decomposed mass of fresh-water shells which occurs in those places. The former alternations occur either from the blowing of sand on the sea-shores, or from deposits of alluvial matter brought down by mountain torrents.

Although fragments of trees are frequently found buried in it, these are not essential. They must be considered as accidental substances, and occur, in those cases where it has been formed in forests, partly from the decomposition of their fallen leaves, and partly from that of the plants which grew under their shade. Oak, fir, alder, and birch, are the woods most frequently found; and it is almost unnecessary to say, that the remains of animals, and other accidental substances, are occasionally buried in peat. The plants which, by their destruction, contribute to its generation, vary according to the situation in which it has been formed. In any one situation some species are more abundant than others, from circumstances too obvious to need enumeration. It has often been asserted, that *sphagnum palustre* is the true basis of peat: this however is an unsupported opinion. Doubtless, in peculiar boggy situations,

situations, it forms a predominant ingredient; but large tracts of peat may be found in many places where this moss never grew.

The process by which these vegetables are converted into peat is very obvious; and the consequent increase of that substance is easily understood, without endowing it, as has been often done, with living powers. It is most easily seen in the sphagnum. In this, as the lower extremity of the plant dies and is decomposed, the upper sends forth fresh roots, like most of the mosses; the individual thus becoming in a manner immortal, and supplying a perpetual fund of decomposing vegetable matter. A similar process, although less distinct, takes place in many of the rushes and grasses; the ancient roots dying, together with the outer leaves, while an annual renovation of both perpetuates the existence of the plant. Other vegetables again add to the common stock by their annual death, their existence being repeated in seedling plants; while others still, of a perennial nature, contribute only by the ordinary decay and renewal of their leaves and flowers.

The progress of this decay, the gradation from the living vegetable to solid inorganic peat, is generally easy to trace. Where the living plant is still in contact with it, the roots of the rushes and ligneous vegetables are found vacillating between life and death in a spongy half-decomposed mass. Lower down, the pulverized carbonaceous matter is seen mixed with similar fibres still resisting decomposition. These gradually disappear, and at length a finely-powdered substance alone is found, the process being completed by the total destruction of all the organized bodies. If this process has been carried on upon a drained declivity, the result is a loose powdery matter, namely, heath-soil, or mountain-peat; if in an inundated or wet soil, it is a mixture of that powder in the water, or the flow-moss of agriculturists. Intermediate circumstances produce intermediate conditions, and thus many varieties of peat are the result; while all these are further increased by differences in the vegetable ingredients, in the time during which the process has lasted, in the degree of drainage, and in the elevation or other causes affecting the temperature or moisture of the atmosphere. The properties of peat, as a fuel, vary according to those circumstances; the best being that of which the decomposition is most complete, and the specific gravity and

compactness greatest. Such is the case in that of North Uist, which has given rise to these remarks.

As the growth of peat necessarily keeps pace with that of the vegetables from which it is formed, it is evident that the cessation of the one is implied in that of the other. Hence the necessity, now at length understood, of replacing the living turf on the bog whence peat has been cut; a condition now required in all leases where liberty to cut it is included. No vegetable seems willingly to attach itself to pure peat; and thus a bog once bared to a sufficient depth remains naked: where the decomposition is but incipient, the process of vegetation is renewed and continued without difficulty.

The labour of making peat is an evil which it would be most desirable to see remedied; since it occupies a great portion of the summer, employs many hands in the making, and many animals in the carriage: while even all the labour which can be commanded is sometimes insufficient to procure an adequate supply. It is estimated at a third of the total expense of the farm; an estimate probably, in some cases, not beyond the truth. In this island, however, and generally through the Long Island, the vicinity of the peat, together with its compact quality and goodness, renders it a much cheaper article.

HARRIS.

Harris is of an irregular form, resembling the three quarters of a square, its diagonal length being about twenty-four miles, and its breadth about seven. It presents a coast every-where deeply intersected by sea lochs, which, as is usually the case in this country, are interspersed with islands and rocks. On the east side, nearly the whole shore presents this character, few slopes descending into the sea, and scarcely a beach or sandy bay being visible throughout its whole extent. Numerous harbours are formed by these lochs; while the intricacy of their sinuosities offer shores resembling, in length and complication, those already described in Benbecula and North Uist; with this difference, however, that the islands and cliffs which form them are considerably higher, and often, indeed, approach to the mountain character. These rocks are bare, or sprinkled with rare and scanty patches of verdure, which, when of somewhat continuous extent, are generally inhabited by solitary tenants, subsisting by the double occupation of farming and of manufacturing kelp.

SCARPA,

SCARPA, TARANSA, SCALPA.

These three are the only detached islands of considerable size connected with Harris: in a geological view, they may be considered as portions of it. The substances found in the two latter render them worthy of notice, although they present too little variety to call for a detailed consideration.

Scarpa and Taransa are each mountainous, the former consisting of one rocky mountain of gneiss about 1000 feet in height, and the latter, of two hills of less elevation, connected by a sandy isthmus. I discovered nothing in Scarpa worthy of particular regard; but the granite veins of Taransa are conspicuous for the magnitude and beauty of the crystals of mica which they contain. The smaller are generally very regular, and are crystallized in short prisms or tables, often two inches in their long dimension: the larger are less regular, attaining to nearly a foot in length. They are rarely found so large in Scotland.

LEWIS.

The total length of Lewis, is forty miles, from the boundary line to the Butt, and its greatest breadth, between Ru Ushenish and the Gallan Head, rather more than twenty. The outline of the coast is much more regular than those of the preceding islands; as it offers only one considerable indentation on the western side, and on the northern half one of those inlets which, in the others, form such numerous and commodious harbours.

The general aspect and face of the country is such as to admit of a very natural division into two portions, of characters quite distinct, although not divided by a strong line. The group of mountains which surround Clisseval continues across the common boundary of Lewis and Harris without change of character, branching away, at length, in a crescent-like form, on the east and west sides, and maintaining, in these directions, a considerable altitude, while in the centre it declines more rapidly into a set of lower elevations, between the heads of Loch Roig and Loch Seaforth. By degrees it subsides into an undulating and uneven land towards Loch Kenhulavig. The mountains on the west side, between Loch Resort and Loch Bernera, are however higher than those which lie from the entrance of Loch Seaforth to Loch Shell; and, when viewed in different directions, whether from the sea, from the high lands in the interior, or from the highest summits of Harris, seem no

way inferior to them in elevation. From these various positions, assuming points where the principal summits were at equal distances from the point of observation, I concluded that Suaneval was nearly equal in height to Clisseval in Harris, which, as already shown, was found to be 2700 feet. As there is no map of this country, I found considerable difficulty in procuring the names of the mountains, and shall therefore mention no more of them; observing merely, that the other hills connected with this principal summit decline from it by very slow degrees, till they terminate at the Gallan Head and the Kyles Flota.

While the summits and sides of the high hills are naked and rocky, the plain land is clothed with a thick bed of peat, obscuring almost every-where the rocky substratum, or only suffering it to break through in occasional protuberances. The aspect of this interior level is that of an universal, desolate, brown moor; pastured in the summer months, and in the winter almost impassable to man or animals. Towards the sea, as is generally the case, green pastures are found; and here also some tracts of alluvial land of considerable extent occur, affording an excellent soil. The best of this land lies at the northern extremity; and wherever situated, it is the sole receptacle of the great population by which the Lewis, like the rest of the Long Island, is crowded; may I add, encumbered.

THE INHABITANTS.

Numerous fishing-boats are generally to be seen about the Butt, manned each by nine men, rowing eight oars in double banks, a practice no where else to be observed. The people themselves are also strikingly dissimilar to the general population of the Islands; preserving their unmixed Danish blood in as great purity at least as the inhabitants of Shetland; and probably, with much of the manners and appearance of the times when this country was an integral part of the Norwegian kingdom. They constitute even now an independent colony among their neighbours, who still consider them as a distinct people, and almost view them in the light of foreigners. The district which they possess is by far the most fertile and valuable part of the island, and they occupy it in the ancient slovenly system of joint-tenantry. They are reputed industrious fishermen, but they only fish for their own consumption; appearing to abound in food, as they are all fat and ruddy. They possess almost universally the blue eye and sanguine complexion

complexion of their original ancestors ; and, with their long matted hair, never profaned by comb or scissors, cannot be distinguished from the present race, as we still meet them manning the northern ships. Notwithstanding their rude aspect and uncouth dress, they are mild in manners, and are esteemed acute and intelligent.

ANTIQUITIES.

It is well known that Scotland possesses numerous specimens of those structures which have been attributed to the Druids ; but, with one exception, they are, in the Western Islands, both rare and unimportant. The neighbourhood of Loch Bernera contains many of them, and all comprised in a tract comparatively small, since a square mile would probably include the whole. They are situated in an open and fertile tract on the borders of this intricate inlet of the sea ; and if they were really temples dedicated to Druidical worship, their aggregation would seem to imply that this spot was the seat of a college, as it has been called, of this order of priests,—a Druidical monastery.

The form is that of a cross, containing, at the intersection, a circle, with a central stone ; an additional line being super-added on one side of the longest arms, and nearly parallel to it. Were this line absent, its form and proportion would be nearly that of the Roman cross, or common crucifix. The longest line of this cross, which may be considered as the general bearing of the work, lies in a direction 24° west of the meridian. The total length of this line is at present 588 feet ; but there are stones to be found in the same direction for upwards of ninety feet further, which have apparently been a continuation of it, but which, having fallen, like others, through different parts of the building, have sometimes been overwhelmed with vegetation, leaving blanks, that impair its present continuity. The whole length may therefore with little hesitation be taken at 700 feet. The cross-line, intersecting that now described at right angles, measures 204 feet ; but, as it is longer on one side than the other, its true measure is probably also greater, although I was not able to discover any fallen stones at the extremities ; the progress of cultivation having here interfered with the integrity of the work. The diameter of the circle which occupies the centre of the cross is sixty-three feet, the lines ceasing where they meet the circumference. The stone which marks the centre, is twelve feet in

height. The heights of the other stones which are used in the construction are various, but they rarely reach beyond four feet : a few of seven or eight feet are to be found, and one, reaching to thirteen, is seen near the extremity of the long line.

The intervals between the stones vary from two to ten feet or more ; but it is probable that the larger spaces have resulted from the falling of the less firmly rooted pillars which occupied those places. The number of stones in the circle is thirteen, independently of the central one ; and the number in the whole building, either erect or recently fallen, is forty-seven.

The aspect of this work is very striking, as it occupies the highest situation on a gentle swelling eminence of moor-land ; there being no object, not even a rock or stone, to divert the attention, and diminish the impression which it makes. The circles found in the vicinity are less perfect, and present no linear appendages : their average diameter varies from forty to fifty feet, and one of them contains four uprights, placed in a quadrangular form within its area. I may add to this general account, that solitary stones, apparently of a monumental nature, are found in this neighbourhood, as well as in the island of Bernera, and in other parts of Lewis.

The remains of one of those singular structures called Pictish Towers is found not far from this place, connected with a subterranean passage, which is supposed by the natives to reach the sea. To trace the date, or the authors, of these buildings, appears a hopeless attempt, as no analogous works appear to exist elsewhere ; and neither carvings, monuments, nor inscriptions, have been found attached to them, so as to give a probable clue towards the discovery.

The three in Glen Elg are of the same size, or nearly so. Those in Sutherland vary, and in some instances appear to have been of somewhat smaller dimensions, as far as can be judged from their present dilapidated state. It is very difficult to comprehend the design of the architects, since the upper galleries, that lie between the inner and outer wall, are insufficient to admit a man : in some, a child could scarcely creep along. Nor are these galleries provided with external apertures for defence,—a circumstance which bespeaks the purpose of that construction in the Galloway towers, and in those keeps which, like that of Restormel Castle, consist of two concentric walls, with an interior space. 15

is probable that they were merely the strong houses of the chieftains of those days, the internal area being appropriated to the occasional inclosure of the cattle, in cases of alarm or warfare.

Of their relative antiquity to those much more singular buildings, the vitrified works, it is impossible to conjecture.

THE FLANNAN ISLES.

These islands are seven in number, and lie seventeen miles to the north-west of the Gallan Head in Lewis, to which estate they belong. The largest appears to contain about eighty acres, the second perhaps twenty, and the rest are of much smaller dimensions. The two first are fully stocked with sheep, although the traveller, who has found some difficulty in climbing to the surface, may be at a loss to conjecture by what means they are carried up the cliffs or removed. The smaller are unoccupied, a circumstance rare in the Highlands, and arising, here, only from their inconvenient situation.

The annual rent of the whole is 10*l*. a price paid rather for the birds by which they are inhabited, than for the grass they produce. Various sea-fowl, of the species usually found in these seas, have here established their colonies; but the most numerous is the puffin. These literally cover the ground; so that when, on the arrival of a boat, they all come out of their holes, the green surface of the island appears like a meadow thickly enamelled with daisies. The soil is so perforated by these burrows, that it is scarcely possible to take a step on solid ground. On any alarm, a concert of a most extraordinary nature commences. Those who have not frequented similar coasts, will perhaps smile, when the effect produced by the united cries of the various sea-fowl, is called harmonious. Separately considered, the individuals cannot be esteemed peculiarly melodious, yet the total effect is no less pleasing than extraordinary; and may not unaptly be compared to the ancient ecclesiastical compositions which abound in a perpetual recurrence of fugue and imitation on a few simple notes. It requires no effort of imagination to trace the sound of the flute, the hautboy, and the bassoon, in the cries of the several birds; the upper parts being maintained by the terns and the gulls, the tenors by the auk tribe, while the basses are occasionally sounded by the cormorants. The cultivated musician will, independently of the general effect, derive pleasure from the perpetual repetition, and the apparently perfect resolution of the discords; while the

whole is varied by the pauses which are occasionally interposed, and by the swelling of the sounds on the breeze; or by their alternate increase and diminution, as the alarm subsides and is again renewed.

SULISKER. (NORTH RONA.)

Sulisker (or Barra) appears to be about half a mile in diameter, having a grassy slope towards the north, and presenting to the south a bluff face of 300 feet or more in height. It is inhabited only by sea-birds and principally by gannets, the exposed situation and the difficulty of landing, rendering it inexpedient to keep sheep on it, as is done, with no great profit indeed, in the Flannan isles. During one week in the breeding-season, it is visited for the sake of the feathers, by the tenant of both the islands, who resides in Lewis.

Rona is accessible in one spot only, and even that with difficulty, from the long swell which is rarely altogether absent in this sea. The landing-place is only the face of an irregular cliff, and it is necessary to be watchful for the moment, to jump out on the first ledge of rock to which the boat is lifted by the wave. To find inhabitants on such an island, is a strong proof, among many others, of the value of land in this country compared to that of labour. There are few parts of Britain where Rona would not be abandoned to the sea-fowls, that seem its proper tenants.

The length of this island was estimated at a mile and a quarter, and its breadth, where widest, at half a mile,—the time not admitting of a more accurate measurement. Its position is nearly east and west, and, at the western extremity, the rocks run far out into long flat ledges: there is also a similar ledge towards the north, partially covered with grass. The remainder of the island is surrounded by high cliffs more or less abrupt, perpendicular at the northern side, and there rising to an elevation of 400 feet or more. Numerous caverns, some of considerable magnitude, are seen in these cliffs; while the contrast between the great foam of the waves that break into them and the pitchy darkness of their deep abysses, united to the grey mist of the driving sky, speckled with the bright wings of innumerable sea-fowl, produces effects fitted for the pencil of Turner, and of him alone. The violence and height of the mountainous seas which in winter break on this island, are almost incredible. The dykes of the sheep-folds are often thrown down, and stones of enormous

mons bulk removed from their places, at elevations reaching to 200 feet above the high-water mark,—so powerful is the breach of the sea. Thus the land is in a state of constant diminution at the western end, and the soil is here washed away for a considerable space. The island lies with a general declivity towards the south, and presents an even swelling surface covered with verdure. The highest point is near the eastern extremity, and does not seem to exceed 600 feet. To sit on this spot, whence no trace of human existence is visible, and to contemplate, from such narrow bounds, the expanse of water every-where meeting the sky, produces a feeling of solitude and abandonment, like that of the deserted mariner on a distant rock. The ship on the ocean is a world in itself. There, even if alone, we seem to move towards the society we have left:—but Rona is forever fixed in the solitary sea.

Some years have now past since this island was inhabited by several families, who contrived to subsist, by uniting fishing to the produce of the soil. In attempting to land on a stormy day, all the men were lost by the upsetting of their boat; since which time it has been in the possession of a principal tenant in Lewis. It is now inhabited by one family only, consisting of six individuals, of which the female patriarch has been forty years on the island. The occupant of the farm is a cottar, cultivating it and tending fifty sheep for his employer, to whom he is bound for eight years;—an unnecessary precaution, since the nine chains of the Styx could afford no greater security than the sea that surrounds him, as he is not permitted to keep a boat. During a residence, now of seven years, he had, with the exception of a visit from the boat of the *Fortunée*, seen no face but that of his employer and his own family. Twice in the year, that part of the crop which is not consumed on the farm, together with the produce of the sheep and the feathers obtained from the sea-fowl, which he is bound to procure, are taken away by the boat from Lewis; and thus his communication with the external world is maintained. Fortunately, he seemed to care but little for any thing out of the limits of his own narrow kingdom.

On the appearance of our boat, the women and children were seen running away to the cliffs to hide themselves, loaded with the very little movable property they possessed; while the man and his son were employed in driving away

the sheep. We might have imagined ourselves landing in an island of the Pacific Ocean. A few words of Gaelic soon recalled the latter; but it was some time before the females came from their retreat,—very unlike in look to the inhabitants of a civilized world.

HABITATION.

Such is the violence of the wind in this region, that not even the solid mass of a Highland hut can resist it. The house is therefore excavated in the earth, the wall required for the support of the roof scarcely rising two feet above the surface. The roof itself is but little raised above the level, and is covered with a great weight of turf, above which is the thatch; the whole being surrounded with turf-stacks, to ward-off the gales. The entrance to this subterranean retreat is through a long, dark, narrow, and tortuous passage, like the gallery of a mine, commencing by an aperture not three feet high, and very difficult to find. With little trouble it might be effectually concealed; nor, were the fire suppressed, could the existence of a house be suspected,—the whole having the appearance of a collection of turf-stacks and dung-hills. Although our conference had lasted some time, none of the party discovered that it was held on the top of the house. It seemed to have been constructed for concealment from white bears, or men more savage still, with a precaution now at least useless. The interior strongly resembles that of a Kamschatkan hut; receiving no other light than that from the smoke-hole, being covered with ashes, festooned with strings of dried fish, filled with smoke, and having scarcely an article of furniture. Such is life in North Rona; and, though the women and children were half-naked, the mother old, and the wife deaf, they appeared to be contented, well fed, and little concerned about what the rest of the world was doing.

RONA. (EAST.)

Rona is five miles in length and less than one in breadth, forming a long parallel ridge, prolonged from the northern part of Rasay, and geologically connected with it by the intermediate island Maltey, and some smaller rocky islets, scattered in the sound by which they are divided. The greatest elevation does not seem any-where to exceed five hundred feet, the whole ridge being separated by deep irregular valleys into rocky hills, much resembling in their general characters those of Coll.

THE GNEISS ISLANDS.

The great or picturesque features of gneiss present every possible variety. It often exhibits a dead level for a considerable space, as in Tirey, Benbecula, and other islands before described; the only access obtained to the naked rock being from some pool of water or accidental breach of the surface. Occasionally, as in Lewis, protuberant masses are seen breaking through the soil. These become, in other situations, as in Coll and Rona, so numerous, that, on a general view, nothing but a continuous extent of rock can be seen; the small quantity of herbage, with the occasional lakes that occupy the intermediate spaces, being only visible in the immediate vicinity of the spectator. These rocky hills rarely exceed an hundred feet in height. In the northern and central parts of Scotland, the prevailing features of the country are, like those of Cornwall, undulating; and the gneiss is generally covered with wet moory soil, or with peat. These undulations gradually increase in height, assuming the mountainous character, and displaying broken faces of rock. In further progress, they produce a craggy and abrupt outline; while the mountains on the western coast attain an elevation equalling the general average of those throughout the country. Loch Hourn is particularly distinguished by the height and ruggedness of the hills that surround it; among which the district of Knoydart is pre-eminent, forming indeed the wildest tract in all Scotland.

It will be immediately seen, that there are two principal varieties of gneiss; the one of a granitic and the other of a schistose structure. From the latter a soil is formed, and general features produced, scarcely differing from those which occur where micaceous schist is the substratum. The former is remarkable for its indestructibility; and hence arises the peculiar nakedness of the countries that are composed of it.

THE TRAP ISLANDS.

The trap is obviously divided into two principal groups, Sky being the centre of the one, and Mull of the other; these being however connected by detached masses, occupying either the intermediate islands or parts of the continent. The Shiant isles, and the remarkable rocks at Loch Maddy, formerly described, are found at the outskirts of this boundary, from which, however, St. Kilda may be excluded, on account of its total want of probable connexion.

The first feature which arrests the attention, in considering these islands, is the nonconformity of outline they present to the general north-easterly bearings of the coasts. This contrast is peculiarly remarkable in Sky, where the larger part of the island presents a tendency different from that of the smaller portion. The former consists of trap; whereas the latter is formed of the stratified rocks, both primary and secondary, and maintains its general position with respect to the continent; preserving the regular directions of those rocks where they occur in more continuous masses.

RASAY.

This island is estimated to be fifteen miles in length, and, where widest, three in breadth. Neither of its longest shores differs much from an uniform line; but the differences, slight as they are, and therefore the less noted in the maps, are peculiarly important to a geologist, as they are connected with changes in the nature of the rocks, the relations of which they serve at the same time to compare and determine.

The west side of the island has a most uninteresting aspect; presenting long ridges of grey rock, ill diversified by the brown hue of the heath and the arid yellow of the *scirpus cæspitosus*, the joint tenants of similar soils. The east side is, on the contrary, covered with scattered farms, each surrounded with its cultivated tract, and the whole diversified by towering rocks, formidable cliffs, and patches of brushwood. On this side, scenes of considerable grandeur occur, generally marked by great breadth and simplicity of manner, and by powerful effect; at times however verging to an artificial character, in the architectural regularity of the flat sandstone cliffs, which are frequently split into columnar and conical forms, rising like towers above the deep dark sea, that washes their bases. The houses, perched on these summits, seem more like the retreats of the birds that hover round them, than the habitations of human beings; the eye from below scarcely distinguishing them, far less their inhabitants.

FLODDA.

This island appears to be about two miles in length and half a mile in breadth, presenting a nearly flat surface, elevated, at the utmost, fifty feet above the level of the sea.

The whole island is formed of the graywacké schist and red sandstone, already

ready described as found near Brochel Castle; the former, however, bearing a very conspicuous proportion to the latter.

SKY.

The extreme length of this island appears to be about forty-five miles, and that line, lying between Vaternish point and the point of Sleat, is not materially different from a mean length of its sides, considering it as a parallelogram. Its extreme breadth lies between Copnahow point and Ru na bradden, and may be taken at twenty-four miles.

The surface of Sky is almost invariably hilly, presenting three distinct assemblages of mountains, separated by intervening tracts of high and undulating land: the plain of Kilmuir, and a small tract near Loch Bracadale, are the only exceptions.

The prevailing rocks of the whole ridge, from the point of Sleat to the Kyle rich, are, red sandstone, argillaceous schist, and quartz rock, accompanied by a body of gneiss, and by other substances.

SPAR CAVES.

The promontory of Strathaird is low at its extremity, being there formed of those stratified rocks which constitute a portion of the adjoining shores of Loch Eishort, but it rises gradually towards Blaven by a succession of hills of trap, presenting no remarkable features. It is for the most part surrounded by cliffs, rarely exceeding sixty or seventy feet in height, and cut smoothly down, so as to afford a perfect display of the succession of the strata of which they are composed. On the eastern side these are remarkable for the very extraordinary number of caves they contain, and for the fissures by which they are intersected. These are rarely of any great dimensions; but are so numerous, that they sometimes occupy nearly as much space in a given distance, as the solid parts of the cliffs themselves. Twenty or thirty are sometimes found in the course of a few hundred yards, the interstices having a resemblance to the ends of detached walls placed in a parallel manner. They are the consequences of trap veins which have been washed away.

Few of these caves have been explored; but one has acquired historic celebrity, from its having been among the numerous places of temporary refuge inhabited by Prince Charles, during his concealment. Another has recently become the cause of great resort to Sky, on ac-

count of its stalactitic concretions, being popularly distinguished by the name of the Spar Cave: it lies on the estate of Mr. Macalister, and is too well known to require any more accurate description of its locality. This cave is accessible from the cliffs above, for a short time only, at low-water; but, by means of a boat, it may be visited at any time in moderate weather, or with the wind off the shore. The entrance is little less striking than the interior, and, to the admirer of the picturesque, it presents a scene even more attractive. This is formed by a fissure in the cliff, extending for a considerable way, and bounded on each side by high and parallel walls, its gloom being partially illuminated by reflected light, and its silence scarcely disturbed by the wash of the surf without. A narrow and obstructed opening leads unexpectedly into the cave, which, for a distance of about an hundred feet, is dark, wet, and dreary. A steep acclivity, formed of a white stalagmite, then occurs, which being surmounted with some difficulty, the whole interior comes into view, covered with stalactites, disposed in all the grotesque forms which these incrustations so commonly assume. Lively imagination may here indulge in the discovery of fanciful resemblances; and the concretions have accordingly received names more descriptive of the fancies of the spectators than of their real forms. Considering the great depth of this cave, and its present distance from the sea, we are inclined to inquire by what means so extensive an excavation could have been formed, and how the rock which has fallen from it has been removed. It is probable, that the depth of water at the face of the cliffs was once such as to permit the ready access of the sea to them, and that, at this period, the excavations so numerous on this shore were produced. The subsequent accumulation of rubbish formed by its action, has, in later times, produced the slope or shore which now excludes it from further access, and protects the cliffs from further demolition.

Some caves are found in Loch Bracadale, but they have no particular claims on notice, either from their beauty, their magnitude, or their singularity. Similar caves are of frequent occurrence between Talisker and Loch Brittle; the low projecting rocks being also often perforated by arches, which are sometimes exceedingly complicated and remarkable.

ANTIQUITIES.

The most numerous ruins, are those of the circular strengths, commonly called Danish, many of which are found on different parts of the coast; but all, as usual, so far destroyed, as to convey but a very slender notion of their original state. Various monumental stones are also found, of which those near Loch Uig are the most conspicuous, if indeed they are not of Druidical origin. Whatever their object has been, the repetition of antiquarian conjectures would here be much misplaced.

If there be any very ancient monuments in Sky, at all distinguished from those of the other islands, it is the cairn on Ben na Caillich, visible at a great distance, even on this elevated summit; its magnitude bespeaking the importance of the person or of the event in commemoration of which it was erected. I shall be excused from repeating the traditions respecting it, since they are unworthy of regard.

The more modern remains are not numerous, nor, with the exception of Dunvegan Castle, are they very remarkable. A small portion only of the castle of Knock is still standing, to bespeak its importance; but it seems to have been merely a castellated mansion. Duntulm is more entire, and, with dimensions equally limited, displays some remains of architectural ornament; a circumstance extremely rare in the Highland castles, and seldom exhibited with much liberality even in the Low countries, where greater opulence must have prevailed, and more taste might have been expected.

The very name of Dunscaich, the traditional residence of the "King of the Isle of Mist," will naturally excite interesting associations in the minds of those who are versant in Gaelic poetry. But its interest is limited to its poetic celebrity. The present building is of recent date, nor is much of it remaining. If that which may have existed only in song be worth a conjecture, the residence of Cuchullin may with greater probability be placed on the neighbouring rocky islet, where the ruins of an ancient circular fort are still to be seen. It is said, that vitrified fragments have also been found in the same place: I had not the good fortune to discover any, though I searched with great care.

SOA.

This island is about two miles in length and a mile and a half in breadth, lying about a mile and a half or more

from that shore which forms the foot of Garsven, the southernmost of the Cuchullin hills. It is a low and uneven land, of a tolerably continuous elevation, never appearing to exceed four or five hundred feet, and is in general bounded by an abrupt rocky shore; most commonly terminating in perpendicular cliffs, which do not, however, exceed sixty or seventy feet in height. The correspondence of the eastern shore with that of the neighbouring coast of Sky is so striking, as to present immediate conviction of their geological continuity; an impression confirmed, by finding that it consists of the same materials, disposed in a manner precisely similar.

PABBA. (GUILLEMON.)

The flat and fertile island of Pabba is of a roundish figure, and about three miles in circumference, lying between Scalpa and the coast of Sky, in a direction corresponding in such a manner with that of the limestone beds of Broadford, as to indicate its composition even before it is examined.

LONGA.

Longa appears to be about a mile and a half in circumference, forming an uneven table land, which is abrupt all round, and about 200 feet in height; being the habitation of sheep, and the resort of gulls and cormorants.

SCALPA.

This island is of an irregularly oval shape, and about three miles by two in extent. It consists of a single mountain, with an uneven summit and rounded outlines, displaying much bare rock, yet no where marked by asperities or by continuous rocky faces. At the same time it presents a grassy, or at least a vegetating, surface, by which it is strongly distinguished from the neighbouring hills of Sky. Occasionally, low rocks are found on the shore, rising towards the north-east into cliffs of moderate elevation; but the greater part of the island descends by smooth declivities to the sea, particularly towards the Sound,—a noted rendezvous of the herring fleet.

THE SHIANT ISLES.

Although the dimensions of these islands render them as insignificant in the general map, as their small extent does in an economical view, they are well worth the attention of the geologist; while the lover of picturesque beauty will here, as in many other parts of the Western Islands, be gratified with a display of maritime scenery, combining the regularity of Staffa with the grander features of the coasts of Sky. There are

three islands, forming a triangular group, two of them being connected by a neck of rolled pebbles, which is, I believe, never covered by the sea. Gariveilan is the northernmost, and is united to Eilan a Kily; while Eilan Wirrey, the easternmost, lies detached about half a mile off. Eilan a Kily, the seat of the ruin above mentioned, is now tenanted by a shepherd, who manages the sheep-farm into which the whole group is laid out. The circuit of each of the two largest, Gariveilan and Eilan a Kily, appears to be about two miles: that of Eilan Wirrey is not above half as much.

CANNA.

Canna is four miles and a half in length and one in breadth, presenting on the south side an irregular declivity, descending by a succession of terraced steps to the shore; while nearly the whole northern side is bounded by vertical cliffs, terminating in the usual slope which accompanies the rocks of trap. Its height is estimated at 800 feet, the land being highest towards the west end, and subsiding about the middle into a flattish neck, which rises again into a similar terraced hill at the eastern extremity.

The surface of Canna is almost entirely covered with fine grasses; a little heath, and that of stunted growth, being found on the tops of the hills. A few undrained flats in the same situation supply peat for the consumption of the inhabitants; but the quantity decreases so rapidly, as to threaten, at no very distant time, the total annihilation of this necessary article. This island is one of the few instances now remaining in the Highlands of the system of tacks, being held by one principal tenant, and subset to the miserable population by which it is crowded. The pasture is applied to the rearing of cattle, and the land in cultivation is so limited, that the inhabitants subsist in a great degree on fish. It is one of the islands in which the growth of grain is rapidly giving way, for obvious reasons, to the cultivation of potatoes.

DYSPEPSIA.

The extreme prevalence of dyspepsia is, perhaps, the most characteristic circumstance in the whole catalogue of Highland ailments. This is so common, that, among the female sex, it is rare to meet one of a certain age free from it; among the men it is not so prevalent. It is attended with all its usual train of Protean symptoms; and often to a degree of violence which will surprise even the physician long versant in the formida-

ble catalogue with which, in the course of more fashionable practice, he is hourly persecuted. The mental affections which so commonly accompany it, are also here exhibited in perfection;—in all their modifications of hypochondriasm, and with the caprices and hallucinations which have been falsely supposed to arise from indulgence and indolence. He who is accustomed to administer to the diseased minds of the rich and the luxurious, believes that he would often find a remedy in abstinence in occupation, and in exercise, provided he could prevail on his refractory patients to abandon their usual gratifications, the supposed causes of this disease. Here he will find all these supposed remedies in compulsory use, and the disorder equally obstinate, and equally defying his powers of cure. Philosophers are often accused of generalizing prematurely; and certainly, in assigning the causes of this malady, physicians have not been deficient in that respect. If labour, occupation, and a moderate diet, could remove or prevent this disease, it would not be found here; if real care could prevent the attack of that more formidable invader of human happiness, imaginary care, the diseases of the imagination would not exist in the Highlands. Whether the cause may not consist in the reverse,—the want of sufficient food, is a question which will probably be answered in the affirmative. How far this prevalence of the hypochondriacal affection may conduce to certain mental phenomena for which the Highlanders have been remarked, is a question of some interest. It is in such minds, at least, that the hallucinations of second sight, and other supernatural appearances, might be expected to predominate.

RUM.

The general aspect of Rum is mountainous, and it may be said to consist of an irregular group of high hills rising out of the sea; without plains, and scarcely diversified by an intervening valley. This group may, in a general point of view, be considered as divided into two parts, the highest occupying the eastern extremity of the island, and that next in altitude the western.

ATMOSPHERIC PHENOMENON.

Those who have travelled in mountainous countries must have often remarked that, even in a strong wind, a cap of mist will frequently involve the summit of a single hill; appearing to be in a state of absolute rest, while the neighbouring clouds are sweeping rapidly along under the influence of the gale. This existence has

has sometimes been attributed, either to the existence of partial currents of air, or to some pure electrical condition of the hill, which gave it the power of retaining a covering of vapour within the sphere of its influence. On the occasion to which I allude, the true nature of this very common phenomenon was apparent; while a beautiful example of the formation of clouds, in a transparent atmosphere, was at the same time presented, attended with other circumstances less easy of explanation.

The wind was north-east, and the breeze, which had blown moderately all the day, began to freshen considerably as the sun went down. Not a cloud was to be seen in the whole hemisphere, while the sun was above the horizon. The island of Rum was about three miles to the westward, and its two most remarkable summits, Halival and Haiskeval, were visible, the vessel being in such a position, beating to windward, as to preserve a parallel with the current of wind and the land. Shortly, a cloud appeared hovering over one of the mountains, and maintaining a constant distance, at an elevation of two hundred or three hundred feet above it, never approaching or receding from it materially; while a similar cloud involved the other, resting on, and surrounding, its sides at a considerable distance below the summit. The freshness of the breeze seeming to be at variance with this appearance, I was induced to watch it more narrowly. The detached cloud was perpetually undergoing various and rapid changes; altering its form, magnitude, and density, in a most capricious manner, but still maintaining its distance from the top of the hill. After observing it for an hour, it was perceptible that it was receiving a constant increase at one end, and undergoing a constant corresponding diminution at the other; its average size remaining the same. On the side from which the wind came, a thin faint vapour began to form at a certain distance from the mountain. This gradually increased in size and density as it drew nearer, and, having arrived at a point over the top of the mountain, it appeared to have acquired its maximum, forming a thick black cloud. In a minute or less it retired in the direction of the current of air, diminishing in density as it receded from the mountain; and, having reached a distance equal to that at which it first began to form, it suddenly dissolved and disappeared, its place being

uninterruptedly supplied by a fresh formation.

The cloud which rested beneath the summit of the other mountain, seemed for a considerable time in a state of absolute tranquillity, undergoing no sudden changes of shape, but forming a dark stratum. It was soon however obvious, that this also was in a similar state of constant renovation and waste, although its changes of figure were much less apparent; and that this mountain, like its neighbour, was causing a perpetual precipitation of fresh vapour from the atmosphere, as far as its influence extended; that vapour being again dissolved in the air as the current drove it from the sphere of the mountain's action.

EGG.

Although this island is of easy access, and presents one of the most interesting and picturesque spots in the whole circuit of the Western Isles, it continues nearly unknown to the southern travellers who for so many years past have made the Highlands the object of their summer excursions.

This island is of small dimensions, being only three miles and a half in length and two and a half in breadth, and is bounded in most places by high and rocky shores, but of different characters. It appears, in a general view, to be separated into two distinct eminences by some lower intervening land; this visible distinction being accompanied by a corresponding difference in its physical character.

MULL.

This island, the third in magnitude of the Western Isles, although possessing but little attraction either for the general traveller or the lover of natural beauty, is far from being deficient in interest to the geologist.

Mull is of a very irregular form, being deeply indented in one part by Loch na Keal, and projecting toward the south-west into a long promontory called the Ross. Its extreme length, which is at the southern side, is about thirty miles, and its next most considerable dimension, from south-east to north-west, is about twenty-five.

The middle trap division, which includes Gribon and part of Torosay, differs but little from the former in its general aspect, as it also consists for the greater part of the same trap, terraces disposed in a similarly scalar manner, but ascending to a much greater height, since the highest land of Gribon has an

almost uniform elevation, apparently not much less than two thousand feet. The western side is here bounded by high cliffs with steep slopes, attaining an elevation of at least one thousand feet; and the southern descends by interrupted slopes to the even and level shores of Loch Scredon.

It is in this part of the island that the Caves, which form objects of attraction to a numerous class of visitors, are found. One of these, known by the name of Mackinnon's Cave, is of considerable magnitude. Tradition still points out the table on which the feast was served, and the uses of several other parts; uses sufficiently probable, since it is undoubted, that similar retreats were occupied either as the temporary abodes of predatory partisans, or for the concealment of the feeble and the property of the clan, during the incursions of an enemy. Although dark, lofty, and profound, and from these circumstances imposing to the imagination, it offers no forms for the painter; nothing but an abyss of vacancy, in which the eye seeks in vain to repose, even for a moment, on the evanescent objects around. It appears to be one of the discontinuities formed by a vein of trap which has afterwards been washed out; this being the most common origin of those caves which are found in the Western Islands.

Among the infinite varieties of difficult ground which it is the fate of the investigator of these regions to traverse, there are few more unexpectedly laborious and tantalizing than the shores in the neighbourhood of these caves. The strata are of various degrees of thickness, from one foot to four and upwards, while they all lie at angles varying from thirty to fifty degrees or more, their broken edges being cut abruptly off at right angles to the stratification. Thus they resemble an irregular and huge staircase which has been inclined, the surfaces looking to the land, while the outer edges are necessarily turned at a considerable angle upwards.

ULVA, GOMETRA, COLONSA, EORSA.

Ulva and Gometra are separated from each other by so narrow a sound, that from most points of view they seem to constitute one island. The former is divided from Mull at its eastern end by a shallow and narrow arm of the sea, which increases to a wide bay, where it separates Gometra from the same island. The latter appears to attain an elevation of about 800 feet; Ulva, one of 1300 or 1400; both being composed of repeated

ranges of terraces, rising in succession from the shore to the summit.

Colonsa may be considered as a portion of the proximate shores of Ulva, in the same manner as this island is intimately related to the neighbouring parts of Mull. It is not high, is of small extent, and is formed of the same beds of rudely-columnar trap and amygdaloid.

Eorsa occupies the entrance of Loch na Keal, and rises to the south-west with a bold and decided aspect. It contains, as far as I could perceive, but one variety of amorphous trap, disposed, as is the universal rule along this coast, in irregular terraces.

All these islands, as well as the numerous and nameless rocks that skirt these shores, are covered with verdure, and tenanted by sheep or black cattle: even the rock which can maintain but one lamb is not unoccupied.

THE THRESHINISH ISLES.

The Threshinish isles are disposed in a ridge extending for five miles in a north-easterly direction, and in some degree forming a breakwater toward the north-west for the island of Staffa and the bay of Loch Tua in Mull. There are four principal islands, besides some intervening rocks: Cairnburg, which indeed forms two distinct islands, Fladda, Linga, and Bach.

STAFFA

Is of an irregularly oval shape, and about a mile and a half in circumference, presenting an uneven table land, terminating nearly all round in cliffs of variable height. The greatest elevation lies towards the south-west, and appears, by my barometrical measurement, to be 144 feet. The surface is covered with a rich soil and luxuriant grass, producing, however, but few plants for the amusement of a botanist. Staffa is pastured by a herd of black cattle, but there has long ceased to be a house on it; the change in the system of Highland farms having materially altered the distribution of the population over most parts of this country. The want of some shelter from an occasional storm, has frequently proved a cause of inconvenience to the visitors who, in summer-time, crowd to this far-famed spot. It would become a serious evil, should a boat be detained for a night or more; a circumstance not unlikely to occur during the gales of wind which, in autumn, rise so suddenly on this coast.

A considerable portion of the precipitous

pitous face of Staffa presents a columnar disposition. The highest point of this face lies between the Great Cave and the Boat Cave, and is, by the plummet, 112 feet from the high-water mark. It becomes lower, in proceeding towards the west, the height near Mackinnon's Cave being only eighty-four feet. From this it extends with some variation to the north, where it subsides into a flat rocky shore, elevated but a few feet above the sea.

There appears to be a gradual increase in the size of columns, as we proceed along this shore; and, at the first cave which occurs, named the Cave of the Scallop or Clam-shell, they are found to have undergone a decided increase of diameter. The appearance of those which surround the entrance of this cave is exceedingly remarkable; and the whole constitutes a subject for the pencil, which has however too much of the bizarre, to deserve the name of picturesque. On one side they are bent so as to form a series of ribs; a disposition which has given rise to the appellation above-mentioned, but has still more aptly been compared to an inside view of the timbers of a ship. On the other side, the wall which leads into the cave is constituted by the ends of columns, having a resemblance to the surface of a honey-comb.

This general account of Staffa would be considered incomplete, were I to omit those caves on which its celebrity is chiefly founded, and by which it is distinguished from most of the basaltic islands in this Sea. That they have already been described by others, would not render the blank less sensible here.

The westernmost of the three, which lie in the great south-western face, is known, as will already have been perceived, by the name of Mackinnon's Cave. The traditions respecting this hero are nearly as obscure as those that relate to Fingal, although, to judge by the places to which he has given his name, his celebrity has not been inconsiderable.

The height of Mackinnon's Cave from the water, at a quarter ebb, is fifty feet, and its breadth forty-eight, so that it presents a large square opening, which, from its depth catching dark shadows, produces a powerful effect; equal perhaps to that of the great cave, although neither attended by the same symmetry nor elegance of design. The length is 224 feet, and the interior dimensions throughout are nearly equal

to the aperture; excepting at the extremity, where the roof and walls approach a little, and a beach of pebbles is thrown up. It is thus of a parallelogramic shape; and, as it is entirely excavated in the conglomerate bed, the walls as well as the ceiling are, with slight exceptions, even and smooth. It occupies precisely the thickness of this bed, which also forms its external sides. The form, as well as the fracture, of this rock, is inelegant; in consequence of which, the internal appearance of this cave is, like most of the exterior, deficient in that kind of beauty arising from order and regularity, which is so remarkable in that of Fingal, although, in many respects, grand and powerful in effect.

The next cave is situated more to the eastward, and is known by the name of the Boat Cave, apparently because it is accessible only by sea. However insignificant in dimensions, it is far from being so in picturesque effect, since the symmetry of the columnar range, in that part of the face under which it lies, is even greater than near the cave of Fingal. Its height is from fourteen to sixteen feet above the high water, the undulation of the sea preventing greater precision in the measurement, and its breadth is twelve feet. The roof and sides are smooth; and the whole interior presents a long parallel, opening like the gallery of a mine, without interest or beauty. By some accident the measure of its length was lost, but, from a general recollection of the progress of the boat to the inner end, that cannot be less than 150 feet. It is situated near the central part of the range, which here retires with a gentle concave sweep; thus producing, either with a morning or evening sun, a noble and tranquil breadth of shade, finely softening into the full light by a succession of smaller shadows, resulting from the irregular grouping of the columns.

Description has long since been exhausted on the Cave of Fingal. If too much admiration has been lavished on it by some, and if, in consequence, more recent visitors have left it with disappointment, it must be recollected, that all such descriptions are but pictures of the feelings of the narrator.

This cave lies near the eastern end of the principal face, a small part only of the columnar range being visible at that side; and, from this cause, it is deficient in that external symmetry of position,

position, which forms so beautiful a feature in the little cave last described. The outline of the aperture, when viewed in such a light as to show it distinctly, is perpendicular at the sides, and terminates above in that species of Gothic arch which has been termed the contrasted; a form which, from its obvious want of geometrical strength, is, in architecture, unpleasing, however abstractedly elegant its curvature may be. Here it is in character, and the defect is not felt. The height, from the top of the cliff to the top of the arch, is thirty, and, from the latter to the surface of the water at mean-tide, sixty-six feet. On the western side the pillars which bound it are thirty-six feet high, while at the eastern they are only eighteen, although their upper ends are nearly in the same horizontal line. This difference arises from the height of the broken columns which form the causeway on the eastern side, and which cover and conceal the lower parts of those belonging to the front. The breadth at the entrance is forty-two feet, as nearly as it is possible to ascertain it; since the gradual variation of the surfaces, as the curve retires on each hand, prevents the adoption of a very precise point of measurement. The height of the cave within diminishes very soon to a mean measure, varying from fifty to forty-four feet; which latter, in the same state of the tide, is also the altitude at the extremity. The mean breadth is equal to that of the aperture, till near the innermost part; but, at the extremity, it diminishes to twenty-two feet; preserving, as will be seen by these measures, a considerable degree of regularity throughout. The length is 227 feet. The sides of this cave are, like the front, columnar, and, in a general sense, perpendicular, though, when accurately viewed, they are, in the same way, far from possessing that geometric regularity which accompanies all the views of it hitherto published. The columns are frequently broken and irregularly grouped, so as to catch a variety of direct and reflected tints mixed with unexpected shadows, that produce a picturesque effect which no regularity could have given. The ceiling is various in different parts of the cave. It is deeply channelled in the middle by a fissure parallel to the sides, and prolonged from the point of the exterior arch to the end. That portion which lies on each side of this fissure,

toward the outward part of the cave, is similar to the upper incumbent bed, being formed of a minutely-fractured rock. In the middle it is composed of the broken ends of columns, which produce an ornamental and somewhat architectural effect; while, at the end, a portion of each kind of rock enters into its formation. From attending only to one or other of these portions, different observers have described the ceiling in a different manner, and each party has accused the other of misrepresentation. The surfaces of the columns above are sometimes distinguished from each other by the infiltration of carbonate of lime into their interstices. As the sea never ebbs entirely out, it forms the only floor to this cave; but the broken range of columns, which produces the exterior causeway, is continued on each side within it.

It would be no less presumptuous than useless, to attempt a description of the picturesque effect of that to which the pencil itself is inadequate. But if this cave were even destitute of that order and symmetry, that richness arising from multiplicity of parts combined with greatness of dimension and simplicity of style, which it possesses, still, the prolonged length, the twilight gloom, half concealing the playful and varying effects of reflected light, the echo of the measured surge as it rises and falls, the transparent green of the water, and the profound and fairy solitude of the whole scene, could not fail strongly to impress a mind gifted with any sense of beauty in art or in nature.

ST. KILDA.

The remote and solitary position of St. Kilda has continued, ever since the days of Martin, to confer on it an interest to which it is scarcely entitled, from any peculiarity either in the manners or the condition of its inhabitants. The spirit of romance seems still to reside in the clouds and storms which separate this narrow spot from the world; but, like other spirits, vanishes before the rude touch of investigation.

Previously to my arrival, more than a year had elapsed since any one had visited the island. The appearance of an armed vessel brought the whole population down to the beach; nor could we help admiring the courage of the chief personage, then, as it happened, the wife of the Minister, who hailed us with the important question "Friends or enemies?" They had remained in ignorance of

of the escape of Napoleon from Elba, and of the subsequent events which had agitated Europe, then but just subsided. Here indeed was the bliss of ignorance, if ever it could concern an inhabitant of St. Kilda what dynasty ruled in France, and how the balance of power was to be re-adjusted. They received with little emotion the news of his defeat and surrender, together with that of his previous escape and re-establishment. The peace with America was a matter of more interest, since there was here an immediate prospect of anticipation in the effects of war. Their remote and defenceless island was subject to depredation from the ships of that enemy; who had in various places given proofs of his knowledge of the country, by burning vessels in the harbours, and plundering the islands of cattle. It was an evil also, not among the least to a maritime Highlander, that the American war had an influence on the price of tobacco; that bribe which gives immediate access to his heart and services.

The politics of Europe being settled, it became a contest who should be nearest, or render the greatest number of good offices; the whole male population down to the age of seven, attending my progress throughout the island, with a civility at least equal to their curiosity. The following of an ancient chieftain could not have been more attentive, and have probably seldom been so happy. He who is ambitious of distant fame need only visit St. Kilda;—he will assuredly be recorded in its annals.

The population consists of twenty families, containing, at the time of my visit, 103 individuals. They are so much attached to their home, that a native seldom leaves the island. The vacillation which has taken place in the population of St. Kilda is remarkable, and has not been explained by Macaulay, the latest writer on this island. In his time, about forty years ago, it was lower than it is at present; whereas, in the time of Martin, it was nearly double.

The rent of the island is 40*l.* which, according to the present average of Highland farms, and including the value of the sea-fowl, is a very low rate. It is paid in feathers, the produce of the innumerable birds that frequent its cliffs to breed; and which form, at the same time, a principal part of the food of the inhabitants, being both consumed fresh, and salted for winter use.

The cultivation resembles that of the Long Island in general; consisting chiefly

in barley, which is by much the finest to be seen in the whole circuit of the isles. The oats are much inferior in quality, and are but scantily cultivated; nor are potatoes grown to nearly the extent usual in Highland farming. The cultivated ground is limited to a narrow spot, close to the little crowded cluster of houses that forms the village, which is characterized by a feature unknown in Highland villages elsewhere,—a stone causeway. The land is held conjointly, according to the old and barbarous system of *rut-rig*; and the allotment of farms would obviously be the first step towards increasing the value of the island. Except on the highest hills, the soil is every-where of an excellent quality, and might be cultivated to a greater extent. But the violence of the winds is an obstacle to its extension on the west side, where the finest soil, and consequently the best pasture, is found,

The provision made for wintering, not only the peat, but the corn and hay, is ingenious, and peculiar to this island. Yet it appears, from the accounts of the Roman writers, that an analogous practice once existed in the interior islands. It consists in numerous buildings, scattered over the eastern face of the hill above the village, in the form of hemispherical or semi-ellipsoidal domes; the purposes of which appear to a stranger as inexplicable as their numbers excite his surprise. They are indeed the first marks of human art visible in approaching from the sea, and are at first naturally supposed to be the habitations of the natives. It is in these that the peat, the hay, the corn, and even the winter-stock of birds, are lodged. They are very ingeniously built, the sides admitting the free passage of air, while the roofs are rendered water-tight by a covering of turf. The stones are laid without lime, an article which they do not possess, and the dome is very artificially turned, by the regular diminution of the courses; the whole being closed and secured at the top by a few large and heavy stones.

The pampered native of St. Kilda may with reason refuse to change his situation; finding his amusement where his chief occupation lies, in the pursuit of the sea-fowl, that constitute, at the same time, his game, his luxury, and a considerable part of his wealth. Free from the reputed evils of law, physic, politics, and taxes; living under a patriarchal government, among a social circle of his relations; in a mild climate, without knowledge of a higher state of things; if he think

thinks not his island an Utopia, the pursuit of happiness is indeed a dream.

The reputation of the bird-catchers for dexterity and courage has long been celebrated. The puffins are taken in their burrows by small dogs; this chase being generally conducted by the children, both male and female, while the men are employed in higher game. The gannets and larger birds are caught by hand, or with snares, on their nests; the bird-catchers descending the cliffs by the assistance of a rope of hair secured above. Accidents are extremely rare. The various sea-fowl which frequent the island have been enumerated by Martin; and more recent naturalists have not added any to his list.

SECOND SIGHT.

To have circumnavigated the Western Isles without even mentioning the second sight, would be unpardonable. No inhabitant of St. Kilda pretended to have been forewarned of our arrival. In fact, it has undergone the fate of witchcraft;—ceasing to be believed, it has ceased to exist. It is indifferent whether the propagators of an imposture, or of a piece of supernatural philosophy, be punished or rewarded. In either case, the public attention is directed towards the object; whether by the burning of the witch, or by the flattering distinction which attended the Highland seer. When witches were no longer burnt, witchcraft disappeared: since the second sight has been limited to a doting old woman, or a hypochondriacal tailor, it has become a subject for ridicule: and, in matters of this nature, ridicule is death.

MUSIC.

Among other subjects which do not appear to have stood the test of examination, St. Kilda has been celebrated for its music. That reputation, if it was ever well founded, exists no longer; nor, at the time of my visit, did it appear that there was either a bagpipe or a violin in the island. The airs which are recorded as originating in this place, are of a plaintive character, but they differ in no respect from the innumerable ancient compositions of this class which abound in the Highlands.

In examining the Highland airs of acknowledged antiquity, as well as those of more modern date, which have not deviated from the ancient model, they are found distinguished chiefly into two classes. The pibroch is of an extremely irregular character, being without time or accent, and often scarcely containing a determined melody. On this basis, such as it is, are engrafted a train of va-

riations, gradually rising in difficulty of execution, but presenting no character, as they consist of a series of commonplace and tasteless flourishes, offensive to the ear by their excess, and adding to the original confusion, instead of embellishing the little air which the ground-work may possess.

It is well known to musicians, that the Scottish airs of genuine character are composed on a scale which does not contain the fourth and seventh of the modern diatonic scale of music. From this is derived the peculiarity by which they are immediately recognised, as well as their general similarity; nor is it possible to move through a succession of these intervals, without producing the semblance of a Scottish air. The same scale, it has been long known, is in use among the Chinese; and hence the melodies of that people possess the Scottish character. The airs recently collected in Java are precisely similar; and prove that, among the Javanese also, the same system of intervals is in use.

In Scotland, the bagpipe must be considered as the national instrument. The scale of this consists of the complete octave with an additional note; the fourth, and particularly the seventh, being so imperfect, that they are never used as fundamental parts of the melody. When introduced, they are treated as passing notes. By this instrument the characters of these melodies seem to have been regulated, as they appear to have been composed on it. In examining all the most ancient and most simple, they will be found limited to its powers, and rigidly confined to its scale.

I am aware that the preceding opinions are at variance with a notion which has prevailed, respecting the origin of the Scottish pastoral music. It has been supposed to have been introduced by James the First, the claims of Rizzio having been for some time abandoned. But, in tracing the airs in their gradual progress to refinement, there is no indication of a chasm in their style; certainly, at least, none of so distant a date. Still less can any distant period be discovered, in which a new style of melody, or any decided and complete change in the character of the national music, was introduced.

The praise of Scottish music must, however, be limited. Even Caledonian prejudice must recollect that, in music as in poetry, there is a cultivated style. As he whose acquirements in poetical taste are confined to Chevy Chase, must not

not doubt the superior feeling of him who is sensible of the beauties of Milton or Pindar, so ought they whose knowledge of music is limited to *Ray's Wife* or *Tweed-Side*, to recollect that, in this art also, there is a standard of taste; and that the vigour of Handel and the variety of Beethoven, are beyond the sphere of their comprehension.

THE CROULIN ISLES.

If the position of the strata in these islands be compared with those of Longa and Scalpa, it will be seen, that they also coincide in bearing with the two latter, at a distance of six or eight miles, a deep sea intervening; from which it may be concluded, that these are all portions of the same line of strata.

THE SUMMER ISLES.

These form a considerable though a scattered group, lying off the entrance of great Loch Broom. Including the small with the large, they amount to about thirty; but of these, only nine or ten are of sufficient size to be occupied as pastures; while one alone, Tanera-more, is inhabited.

Tanera-more is about two miles in length and one in breadth, and, independently of a farm, contains a fishing establishment, with extensive smoking-houses, now rendered useless, like others on this coast, by the long-continued desolation of the herring shoals. It presents an irregular and rocky surface, rising to the height of 400 or 500 feet.

The other islands are all similarly rocky, but of much less elevation; nor do they present any circumstances worthy of particular notice; being uniformly bare, and void of picturesque beauty, unless where their rocky and often high shores are wrought into caverns and points, by the incessant breaking of the sea.

HANDA.

This island is situated near the shore, between Scourie-bay and Loch Laxford, being of a roundish figure, about a mile and a half in diameter, and rising into a sort of inclined table-land, of about 300 feet in elevation. At the eastern side, the declivity of the surface is gradual, but the western is an almost unbroken vertical cliff, presenting, from its smoothness and the divisions and colour of its strata, a disagreeable resemblance to a gigantic brick wall. This cliff is wrought into caverns, and tenanted by myriads of sea-fowl, of which it is a resort scarcely less noted than Ailsa.

THE SCHISTOSE ISLANDS.

The first of these subordinate divisions

may be designated by the name of the Slate Isles, and it includes Kerrera, Seil, Luing, and Torsa; Shuna, which is geographically and popularly associated with these, appertaining, in geological character, to the third subdivision. The characteristic of this group, is the prevalence of clay-slate. The subdivision here entitled the quartz isles, comprises the chain of Lunga, Scarba, Jura, and Isla; to which Colonsa, Oransah, and the Garvelach isles, may be added: the principal chain being characterised by the prevalence of quartz rock, and the other islands being evidently connected with it by community or alternation of its other leading strata. The last subdivision includes, together with Shuna, the Craignish isles, the isles of St. Cormac, Gigha, and Cara, and is distinguished by a series of schistose rocks in which chlorite schist predominates, and which occupies an extensive tract on the adjoining main-land. It will be convenient to discriminate it from the other groups by the name of the Chlorite Isles.

The islands of Kerrera and Seil form the immediate bond of union between Mull and the Argyllshire coast, containing the trap rocks of the one and the schistose strata of the other. A very small portion also of secondary strata occurs in the three northernmost, but in parts so detached and minute, that they almost disappear in the particular details. The most obvious feature of the connexion will be seen to consist in the trap which prevails in the northernmost islands, and on the shores of the main-land immediately opposed to them.

JURA.

Jura is among the largest of the Western Islands, and is conspicuous at a distance, from its considerable elevation no less than from the peculiar forms of its mountains. Its greatest length, extending from south-west to north-east, is about twenty miles, and its breadth at the southern end eight; as far as any reliance can be placed on this very doubtful department of Scottish geography. From this widest part, the breadth diminishes gradually northwards, till it is reduced to two miles. The aspect of the island is rugged and mountainous, and it may, in a general sense, be considered as a continued mountain-ridge; since it can scarcely be said to possess a valley, or to terminate in any other plain than that of the surrounding ocean. The shores therefore, as might be expected, partake of this general character, being commonly rocky and often abrupt;

abrupt; seldom descending to the sea in gentle slopes or flat meadows. Under these circumstances, Jura is almost void of picturesque beauty, if we except the cliffs, the caverns, and the arches, which are to be seen on several parts of the coast.

The soil of Jura partakes of the barrenness of the rock on which it lies; being sandy, and, from the wetness of the climate and want of ready drainage, much encumbered with peat. It contains but little land really arable, and is chiefly employed in the rearing of black cattle.

LUMINOUS ANIMALS.

The phenomenon of luminous water is exhibited throughout these seas during the autumnal season with great brilliancy; increasing with the appearance of the Medusæ, and diminishing when they disappear.

This fact has been known to naturalists at least since the days of Pliny, and has at different times been a subject of much discussion. Being too remarkable to have escaped the notice of even the most common observers, and too difficult of explanation not to have excited the ingenuity of philosophers, different theories of the cause have accordingly been proposed. Among mariners, it has, like all the less common phenomena of the elements, given rise to unfounded prognostics relating to atmospheric changes; while, like those which excite surprise from their rarity, or admiration from their singularity and splendour, it has been occasionally ranked among the recondite and inexplicable appearances of nature. For this reason, perhaps, the investigation of its true origin has been neglected. Mariners and fishermen have always considered it as a property attached to sea-water, and to that under particular circumstances of approaching change. Had their attention been directed to its real cause, we should long ere this have been acquainted with many more of the animals in which it principally resides; and have been enabled to extend the scanty list here given to an indefinitely greater number; perhaps to all the inhabitants of the ocean. It is equally to be regretted, that naturalists also have too generally taken it for granted, that the property of yielding light was attached to the water of the sea itself; and that, instead of examining into its real seat, they have been content to speculate on its cause. Thus it has by one class been attributed to the putrefaction of sea-

water, although the slightest acquaintance with this element will show that, except in a few rare cases described by navigators, the waters of the sea do not exhibit appearances of putrefaction. On the contrary, provision seems to have been made in the sea, as in the air, for the speedy decomposition and dissipation of all dead animal matter; and for the incessant renewal in it of an uniform purity, similar to that which the winds, and other causes, effect in the atmosphere. Others have supposed this light to be phosphoric; a term to which no definite idea was attached, and which has thrown no further light on the question than that usually arising from the substitution of one word for another. Mayer, and those who followed him, conceived that the water of the sea imbibed light, which it afterwards discharged. It is scarcely necessary to mention the speculations of those who conceived it to be the result of electric friction; since a consideration of the laws of electricity, would have shown that electric light is never produced in any analogous case. A more accurate investigation of the subject would have suggested that which the researches of recent zoologists have at length proved;—that the luminous appearances in sea-water were independent of the element itself, and arose from the phosphorescent property of living animals, or of animal matter diffused through it. Many distinct animals possessing this quality have been ascertained by the various naturalists who have accompanied the late voyages of discovery; and the subject having lately excited attention, many others have also been recently observed on our own shores. Had it been generally understood that this splendid phenomenon was a property possessed by the inhabitants of the sea, and not by the water, there is little reason to doubt that the researches of naturalists, like those of fishermen, would not only have extended our knowledge of the luminous individuals, but have perhaps ere now ascertained the peculiar chemical and vital powers to which the appearance is owing. It is true, that a few persons have not only doubted the existence of this power among marine animals, with the exception of two or three species, but have fancied that, although the property of giving light was proved to reside in some of these, yet the general light of the ocean was the result of some hidden property in the water itself. After enumerating the luminous species which have

have been unquestionably ascertained, it will be seen, that they are much more abundant than has been generally imagined; and it will also appear, that, even the light of that water in which these animals do not exist, is originally derived from the same source.

The twinkling appearance that characterizes the light of these worms, has been seen in water free from any visible objects, if we may rely on the care and accuracy of the observers; with this only difference, that the sparks were more minute. Hence it was concluded, that the water was, in these cases, luminous. Three circumstances may have led to errors in these observations. The slippery nature of the larger *Medusæ* causes them frequently to escape, when an attempt is made to lift a vessel of water from the sea. The transparency also of the minute creatures enables them to elude a cursory observation; and there is every probability, that animals nearly microscopic, or resembling in dimensions some of the *Infusoria*, whether in the state of spawn or fully grown, inhabit sea-water; possessed of the same voluntary powers of emitting light, and forming the prey of the tribes immediately larger than themselves: the observations of Forster seem to confirm this notion. It is to these unascertained beings that our attention ought to be directed; and there is little doubt that future investigations will still detect many unknown and minute animals possessed of this property. The third and last cause which has tended to deceive naturalists and conceal these animals from observation, is that property which so many marine worms possess, of speedy solubility in sea-water after death. The small time occupied in effecting the solution and total disappearance of even the larger kinds, gives reason to suppose that the smaller have often eluded investigation, from the extreme rapidity with which they undergo this process; a supposition the more probable, when we consider the circumstances under which these examinations are generally made.

With respect to the nature of the light, it is important to remark, that it appears in two distinct forms, and in these cases apparently arising from two sources. The twinkling appearance seems always to proceed from the animals, and to be the result of their own actions. It takes place when the water is at rest, and is much brighter than the light produced by merely disturbing the water where

these are not present. On examining them, they are frequently found covered with luminous points; and it was ascertained by Professor Smith, that the seat of the light in one species of *Cancer* was in the brain, while it was apparently also under the influence of the animal. The fainter diffused light appears to originate rather from detached luminous matter dispersed through the water. This appears however to abound exactly in proportion to the number of marine animals present; and hence it is so remarkable in those seas where the worms and insects are most plentiful. This matter seems often to be the cause of the light produced by friction or agitation; although it is certain, that the same disturbances also cause the marine animals to give out their own light. To Professor Smith it appeared that this substance consisted of solid spherical particles; but it may be questioned whether these were not rather animalculæ, or perhaps the ova of the worms or insects which were present.

With respect to the causes by which this light is excited, or the circumstances under which it is elicited, it has appeared to be invariably the result of the agitation or disturbance of the animal, as it is of that of the sea, when the luminous matter exists in a detached state in the water. But it seems also to be the effect of a volition on its part; whether this be the consequence of fear, or of some other motive. When the sea contains *Medusæ*, although perfectly still, a frequent twinkling of the lights is always to be seen; appearing and disappearing alternately, and probably in consequence of the will of the animal. That it is the result of the will, is indeed almost proved, since it can be produced by noises, which are capable of exciting alarm without disturbing the water. The same is to be observed in the larger fishes. Thus, if a noise be made by striking on the gunwale of a boat, when a shoal of pilchards is under it, the whole will in an instant become luminous, exhibiting the splendid appearance of a continuous sheet of light; momentary, but renewable on repeating the same alarming sound. It is impossible at present to ascertain the means by which this effect is produced. That it is not the result solely of their impulse against luminous matter existing in the water, whether dead or living, is certain; since the same effect cannot always be produced at those times by other agitation. Possibly the luminous

matter may exist in the mucous secretion of the skin, and thus be capable of excitation by the mere effort of violent motion and consequent impulse on the water, in cases where this matter does not exist in the sea in a detached state. No explanation has yet been given of the power by which the luminous land animals obscure their light; yet, in them, it is equally known to be under the direction of the will, and also to be connected with essential purposes in their economy. The property of emitting light has been indeed supposed to be more common among those than among the marine tribes, and it has been found to exist in the genera *Elater*, *Lampyrus*, *Fulgora*, *Scolopendra*, *Pausus*, *Limulus*? *Galathea*, *Lynceus*. The slender enumeration of the marine animals already given, is sufficient to prove that it is possessed by a much greater number even of species among the inhabitants of the ocean; and the superiority of several of the races themselves is numerically such, that while, in a few climates, the twinkle of an insect is occasionally seen, the nocturnal darkness of the immense ocean is illuminated by its inhabitants. In the insect tribe, it has been supposed to serve only for a warning to the male sex, though in the *Lampyrus*, *Fulgora*, and *Elater*, both sexes give light: in the marine animals it appears conducive to ends more universal, if not more important; namely, to the general communication of all the inhabitants of the sea, for the immediate object of self-preservation.

HERRINGS.

It is almost unnecessary to say to those acquainted with the fisheries on our different coasts, that Pennant's account of the migration of the herring shoals is purely visionary; nor has any more recent writer succeeded in reconciling, by any general theory, the several periods of its appearance in different places, or its difference of condition at the same time on different shores.

It is at any rate certain, that the herring breeds on the west coast of Scotland, as the young fish are found throughout that sea immediately after their exclusion. They do not therefore arrive from the Arctic seas, as Mr. Pennant imagined. Neither, on their first arrival, do they come in shoals. On the contrary, they are so scattered, that they cannot be taken by the net in the usual way. At that time, they are often caught in considerable abundance by a fly, or any bright substance; often by new-tinned

hooks, which they seize with great avidity; presenting both an amusing sport and a profitable occupation, as one man has been known thus to take a barrel and a half during the few days this fishery lasts. So far from their being migratory to the extent supposed, it would also appear, on the contrary, that their residence is in the deep water all round the northern coasts of Britain; since, throughout nearly the whole year, they are taken by the deep-sea fishers; forming the most profitable and steady branch of this fishery, for a long time exclusively possessed by the Dutch, but now much followed by busses from Scotland; of the commerce of which, the taking and the exportation of the herring forms an important branch.

From the deep water they arrive early in the summer on the western coast, but are rarely taken in abundance till August; recently, not till September. On the eastern side of the island they are later, but extend much farther along the shore; while, of late, they are also much more plentiful on this than on the former coast. This change of haunts is one of the most obscure points in the history of the herring. It has visited and deserted in succession almost every loch on the west coast; and in those which were once the seat of the fishery, not a fish has for many years been taken. At present, they seem to prefer the inlets of the Clyde; formerly, the northern lochs were most productive. With that change from the north to the south, the season of shoaling has also become much later.

There is similar obscurity respecting the periods of spawning, which appear to vary on the different coasts; although supposed, from its importance, to be an unvarying circumstance in the habits of animals. It may possibly arise from their breeding more than once in the year, and from that process being at different seasons performed in different places, according to the variations of circumstances which we have no means of ascertaining.

ISLA.

Isla is of an irregular trapezoidal form, deeply indented at the south side by the great bay of Loch in Daal; its extreme length being twenty-five miles, and its greatest breadth twenty, or thereabout. The continuity of its general outline with that of Jura, is rendered more impressive, by that of the direction of the strata which form both the islands. The strait by which they are separated is narrow, and

and the resemblance of the opposite shores is therefore the more easily seen. So exact is the correspondence, that we can almost imagine a recent fracture and separation of these two islands; just as we can conceive the forcible disjunction of the high cliffs which on each side bound the Coryvreckan. The shores of this strait are abrupt but not high; rarely exceeding an hundred feet, and seldom perhaps attaining that elevation.

A cave of considerable length, formed by a discontinuity of the beds of slate, occurs at Sanig; but, like many other caves found about the shores of these islands, it is unnecessary to describe it; since, though an object of curiosity to the natives, it possesses nothing, either in a physical or a picturesque view, to render it interesting.

Caves appear in all countries to be the objects of a curiosity mixed with awe,—the seats of a mysterious terror. Among the prevalent opinions respecting them in the Highlands, is that of their extreme depth. There is none of which it is not said that a piper has entered without ever returning, the sound of his instrument having been heard gradually expiring in the prolonged vaults. One near Dunkeld is said to reach to Schihallien. Of another, in Sutherland, it is asserted, that whoever enters it will return without his skin.

THE CLYDE ISLANDS.

The last division of the Western islands consists of those that are embayed in the great estuary of the Clyde.

Arran indeed may in one sense be considered as an independent object; displaying a greater extent, and a more perfect series, of geological arrangement, than any of the Western isles, and capable, to a great degree, of elucidation from its own internal stores.

They present a further common bond of union, in the trap rocks which, with scarcely any exception, are found in the whole. That deposit will also be seen to constitute a portion of an extensive range which is associated with the whole extent of the secondary strata; covering a great part of these on the main-land, and reaching, even from the Mull of Cantyre and the western coast of Ayr, to the eastern sea.

The picturesque beauty and the variety of Arran, united to its accessible situation, render it as much an object of attraction to all classes of visitors, as the nature of its geological structure and details has long since done to geologists. From the rocky and rugged mountain, to

the swelling hill, the open valley, or the green retired glen, it presents all that diversity of surface, which is rarely found condensed into so small a compass, and, more rarely still, combined with an insular situation.

The length of this island is about twenty miles, and the breadth about ten; while, in consequence of the regularity of its form, the superficial area is nearly equal to the parallelogram that would result from multiplying its sides.

The characters of the mountains of Arran are grand, and their outlines picturesque and serrated; yielding in both respects only to the superior magnificence of the Cuchullin hills. The granite of which they are composed rises into spiry forms, frequently bare of vegetation, and extending downwards in faces of naked rock into the intricate sections that divide these complicated ridges.

In a different style of landscape, Brodick Bay is no less beautiful, affording, in one point of view, a picture approaching to perfect composition, in a degree rarely seen in Nature. The elegantly-conical shape of Goatfell forms the extreme outline of this picture; while the middle ground consists of a rich valley sprinkled with trees and houses, rising up the sides of the lower hills on one side, and skirting, on the other, the beautiful expanse of sea which forms the bay; where the presence of occasional shipping, the rocky shores, and the activity of fishing-boats and of human occupations, present foregrounds of endless variety. Numerous scenes of minor detail, yet, in a different way, scarcely less interesting, occur at every step, as we trace the shores, or follow the courses, of the glens and streams which open into this beautiful valley.

It will readily be apprehended, that under such a variety of surface, attended with equal variety in the nature of the subjacent rocks, Arran must present great differences of soil, and that its agricultural features will accordingly vary in different places. The hill-pastures of the northern division lying on granite, are heathy and unproductive; while they are also, in many places, encumbered with peat and interspersed with soft bogs, the consequences of imperfect drainage.

A considerable number of erect monumental stones exists in various parts of the island; one of which by the roadside, at Brodick, and two equally remarkable in a field not far distant, are particularly

cularly conspicuous, for their magnitude and position. These stones, frequent through the Highlands of Scotland, are the rude *ῥῥῥῥ* of our Celtic ancestors; the origin, it is probable, of those which the arts of Greece adorned in after-times with sculptures and inscriptions. Unfortunately, the ignorance of letters which prevailed among the ancient Caledonians, leaves us in the dark, both as to the periods of their erection and the objects to which they were dedicated.

Not far from Lamlash-bay, an irregular collection of apparently-ruined cromlechs still exist. The barrows in Glen Cloy bespeak a sepulchral origin; and it is equally probable, that two very large cairns, at the south side of the island, cover the ashes of chiefs of higher fame and greater power.

Near Tormore are to be seen some caves in the sandstone, the supposed habitations of traditionary heroes not a little problematical. Fingal, like our Arthur, the ubiquarian king and warrior, is said to have occupied them during his hunting excursions. It is not improbable that they have been inhabited in later times; as they are much better adapted for human habitations than almost any caves in the Western islands, being dry, light, and convenient of access; while they are capacious enough to receive a large community. It is not long since the caves of Isla were inhabited; and those of Bridgenorth have been converted into commodious houses in the present days. In such circumstances, the holes which, in the caves of Arran, seem to bespeak contrivances for cookery, may have been made; while the sculptures, as they are called, consisting of rude lines scratched in the soft rock, are more likely to be the work of the children who herd the cattle along this open shore, than that of the Fions. They are not in any other respect interesting, as their dimensions are insufficient for grandeur, and their smooth uniformity of surface precludes all picturesque beauty; while, being thoroughly illuminated, they are deprived of that uncertainty and obscurity which is, in these cases, as in many others, a great source of the sublime.

The traveller who has visited the ancient castles of Wales or of England, will experience considerable disappointment on meeting with those which are scattered throughout Scot-

land; so far inferior in magnitude, and so seldom characterized by those irregular though picturesque arrangements of the architecture, which render the former so interesting, and so susceptible of all the effects which the art of painting has the power of bestowing. They are in fact but castellated mansions; rarely sufficing for more than the habitation of a small family, and destitute of all the complicated defences, and the provisions for the garrison of troops, which alone can produce the romantic effect, and excite the historical recollections, that give to buildings of this class their principal interest.

BUTE. INCHMARNOCH.

The length of Bute is about eighteen miles, and its general breadth may be taken at four, exceeding, or falling short, of this occasionally by one mile; the two sides, one of which faces the north-east, and the other the south-west, maintaining a general parallelism. In these respects, its outline conforms to those of the proximate coasts of Argyllshire, and to the boundaries of Loch Fyne and Loch Straven; those outlines appearing in all these instances to have been determined by the forms of the ridges of hills, which are also composed of similar materials, both on the main-land and in this island.

Bute is naturally divided into three portions, not more distinct in their general forms than in their mineral structure. The Garroch head consists of a ridgy and rugged group of hills, rising in different places to an elevation which varies from 600 to 800 feet, and composed almost entirely of trap rocks. This is separated from the middle district by a narrow tract, very little elevated above the sea, which is formed of alluvial matter and vegetable soil. The middle portion is an undulating land, scarcely attaining in the highest parts an altitude of 300 feet; composed, with slight exceptions, of sandstone, and divided from the third and northern tract by a low valley, which extends from Rothsay to Scalapie. The northern district is formed of various primary rocks of a schistose structure.

It is almost unnecessary to say, that, with one of the mildest climates of Scotland, Bute is almost one of the most rainy. But the forms of the hills, and the short courses of the streams,

streams, necessarily limit these to mere brooks, incapable of producing any conspicuous effects on the form of the surface. This island is indeed remarkable for the almost total absence of alluvial matter. One or two banks of gravel are visible on each opposed shore, near the northernmost point; but whether these have been thrown up, under some former state of things, by the action of the tides, being afterwards deserted as the water has found a deeper channel, or whether they are the remains of more considerable deposits, now nearly removed by its gradual corrosive power, it is impossible to determine.

ISLE OF MAN.

The Isle of Man is naturally divided into two distinct portions, as dissimilar in their general appearance as in their structure; the southern, and by far the larger part, consisting of an irregular group of mountainous land, and the northern, presenting an alluvial tract, for the most part flat, and in many places, so level, as to admit with difficulty of a sufficient drainage for the purposes of agriculture. The characters of the shores correspond, as might be expected, with that of the surface; being smooth and even where they bound the northern division, and rocky and indented, with few exceptions, throughout the whole of the larger southern district.

Large portions of the land have been separated by vertical fissures, extending from the surface almost to the level of the shore beneath, so deep and so dark, that the eye does not penetrate to the bottom. The principal masses have thus slid into new positions, while many smaller fragments appear still suspended in the very act of falling; even the larger seeming to be often so nicely poised, that the hand would almost be thought sufficient to push them from their present situations into the sea that rolls below.

The spectator who does not walk with fear over these chasms, must, at least, walk with caution; and will not perhaps at first easily divest himself of the sense of insecurity with which he traverses ground that appears in the act of escaping beneath his footsteps. In a physical view, the phenomenon is however much too common to require any explanation; while it is obviously a slide of no very distant origin, geologically considered. As an historical

occurrence, it is of considerable antiquity; and, although the distance in point of time cannot be ascertained, its lowest limit is recorded by the existence of a Druidical structure on one of the moved fragments; a chronological index, at least very remote, if not exactly to be assigned.

The general aspect of the interior of the island, is consonant to that of the coast now described. The northern alluvial tract is, throughout a great part, flat, while it is also in a high state of cultivation. One irregular range of low hills, formed of gravel, sand, and other similar matters, extends in a curved line along its northern and western edges; and I need scarcely add that, as it possesses but little wood, it offers no beauty to the traveller's eye beyond that which arises from the aspect of fertility, and from that of a scattered, and apparently wealthy, rural population. This indeed is a circumstance which will forcibly strike the English observer, who is accustomed to see large tracts, even when in high cultivation, occupied by a few opulent tenants, whose houses are scarcely visible in the agricultural waste: it displays the remains of a system not yet conformed to that which is now fast establishing itself through the most improved parts of the British dominions. The features, whether of the mountainous or of the hilly tracts which form the elevated and southern part of the island, are various; but the two are in general readily distinguishable by the presence or absence of cultivation; although that has been here extended as far, perhaps in some instances farther, than prudence would have dictated, or profit will ultimately justify. From the summit of Snaefell, which is the principal elevation of the Isle of Man, a tolerably accurate idea may be formed of the general distribution of the mountains, and of the relations of the several parts of the group. This mountain, as it has been ascertained by trigonometrical observations, is 2004 feet high, and is accompanied by numerous other elevations gradually declining from that of North Barrow, the height of which is 200 feet less, down to the shores on each side of the principal group.

The view from the summit of Snaefell is remarked for including the several parts of the British dominions; the ranges of Snowdon and of Cumberland being

being visible to the eastward and southward, the mountains of Morne and Fairhead appearing on the west side, and the Mull of Galloway, with the elevation of Criffel, rising in the northern horizon. A distinct view of the island itself is also obtained; although the shores are in several directions excluded by the height of those hills which approach in elevation to the parent mountain.

MEMOIRS OF THE
PROTECTOR, OLIVER CROMWELL,
AND OF HIS SONS
RICHARD AND HENRY.

*Illustrated by Original Letters, and
other Family Papers.*

By OLIVER CROMWELL, Esq.

A Descendant of the Family.

With Portraits from Original Pictures.

4to.—Pp. 734.

[After a lapse of a hundred and sixty years, when the passions of four or five generations have passed away, we may examine coolly the true character of that GREAT MAN, who, having defeated the friends of tyranny, had to maintain a more arduous contest with his own friends and the partizans of liberty, and who, for his own personal safety, had no alternative but, like NAPOLEON under the same circumstances, to place himself above their power, in a situation calculated to awe and subdue them. The example of WASHINGTON may, it is true, be quoted against both; but it should be recollected, that Washington had not to contend against concentrated factions in such populous countries as England or France, in which, as one half of the population live by abusing the social rights of the other half, the passions, stimulated by self-interest, are proportionably mischievous. The defence of Cromwell could not have fallen into better hands than those of his grand-grand-son, the amiable and respected Mr. OLIVER CROMWELL, who, being in possession of the family papers, and having leisure and talents, has examined the falsehoods of the sycophants and toad-eaters who wrote under the Stuarts, and has ably vindicated his ancestor from their calumnies. Many readers will perhaps think that he has not tried Cromwell on his own principles; but, admitting even his republican virtues to be crimes, he has become an apologist on points where no apology was necessary. Mr. Cromwell has, however, had

a delicate duty to perform; and it should be recollected that he is the first member of his illustrious family who has dared to face the prejudices of power, since they retreated from the public eye in 1660. Our selections have been made chiefly from the biographical parts of the book; but it is an act of justice due to the author to state, that his splendid volume contains also a very luminous view of the public events in which his distinguished ancestor took so active a part.]

MR. CROMWELL'S PREFACE.

IT has been the singular ill fortune of Oliver Cromwell and of his family, that his character hath been left exclusively in the hands of his enemies. The short interval between his death and the Restoration, and the unsettled state of the nation in the intermediate time, left no opportunity for a faithful and impartial history of that extraordinary man. From that time to the present, his memory hath been abused and vilified, without any allowance for the peculiar circumstances in which he was placed; his name alone is to this day deemed by many a sufficient description of every thing that is ambitious, hypocritical, and tyrannical: he has been held forth as a composition of every bad quality, without one virtue to counterbalance them. The particular views of all those who took a part in the troubles of the times in which he acted, were frustrated by his ascendancy, and however differing in other respects, they have united in blackening his memory. Every trifling or ridiculous story of the supposed irregularities of his youth, and of the imagined tricks and childish follies even of his very infancy, have been eagerly sought for, and, without examination, credited against him. An opinion that his character hath not met with fair treatment, and a hope to place it in the light in which it is conceived it is justly entitled to stand, have given rise to this work; not begun with any view to its publication, but as the amusement of the writer's leisure hours.

SIR RICHARD CROMWELL.

Against Sir Richard Cromwell's name in the pedigree is the following note: "The 1st of May, 1540, a solemn triumph was held at Westminster, before King Henry VIII. by Sir Jo. Dudley, Sir Richard Cromwell, and four other challengers, which was proclaimed

proclaimed in France, Spayne, Scotland, and Flanders. The 2d day at journey, Sir Richard Cromwell overthrew Mr. Culpep; to his and the challengers' great ho.' Mr. Noble gives, from Stow, a particular account of this jousting; and adds, from Fuller's Church History, that when the king saw Sir Richard's prowess, he was so enraptured, that he exclaimed, "Formerly thou wast my Dick, but hereafter thou shalt be my diamond;" and thereupon dropped a diamond ring from his finger, which Sir Richard taking up, his Majesty presented it to him, bidding him ever afterwards bear such a one in the foregamb of the demy lion, in his crest, instead of the javelin; and which, says Mr. Noble, the elder branch of the Cromwells constantly did, as did the Protector himself upon his assumption of that title; but that before, he used the same crest of the lion, only with the javelin in his paw. This may be questionable, but is immaterial.

The above Sir Henry, the eldest son of Sir Richard Cromwell, appears by the pedigree to have been knighted in the sixth year of Queen Elizabeth (1563); and it appears, in a book giving an account of the queen's reception at the University of Cambridge, in 1564, intituled *The Triumph of the Muses*, by Dr. Nicholas Robinson, chaplain to Archbishop Parker, and afterwards Bishop of Bangor, that the queen, upon her departure from Cambridge, rode to dinner to a house of the Bishop of Ely, at Stanton, and from thence to her bed at Hinchinbrooke, a house of Sir Henry Cromwell's in Huntingdonshire.

SIR OLIVER CROMWELL.

Sir Henry's eldest son, Sir Oliver Cromwell, married first, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Bromley, lord high chancellor of England: his second wife was Lady Ann, the widow of Sir Horatio Palavacina, of Babram, in Cambridgeshire.

Mr. Noble says, from Morgan's Survey of Gentry, that Sir Oliver was knighted by Queen Elizabeth in 1548, 40th year of her reign: and he adds, from Stow and other writers, that he entertained King James several times, namely in 1603, in his coming from Scotland, upon his accession to the crown of England, in the most sumptuous manner, from the 27th to the 29th of April, and in 1616 and 1617; and Mr. Noble thinks that he also en-

tertained King Charles the First, probably more than once, upon his going to and on his return from the North. Previously to his coronation, the king (James) created Sir Oliver a Knight of the Bath. Mr. Noble adds, from the Journals of the House of Commons, that he appears to have been a conspicuous member from the year 1604 to 1610, and also in 1614, 1623, and 1624; during which years he is oftener named upon committees than any other member: also, that his name occurs once in a committee in the first parliament of King Charles I. This is correct: he was of a committee to which a bill for the increase of timber and wood was referred. He supposes he sat for Huntingdon; but it appears, from a search now made at the crown office, that he sat for the county of Huntingdon. The same writer says, that Sir Oliver was not an idle spectator in the civil wars; for that, remembering the many obligations he and his ancestors lay under to the crown, he determined to support the royal cause; for which purpose he not only, at a very heavy expense, raised men and gave large sums of money, but obliged his sons to take up arms and go into the royal army, and that he was of greater use to his Majesty than any person in that part of the kingdom, by which he rendered himself particularly obnoxious to the parliament; and that the great expenses that this attachment to an unfortunate party put him to, obliged him to dispose of his grand seat of Hinchinbrooke, which he sold to Sir Sidney Montague, the youngest of six sons of Edward Lord Montague of Boughton. And that after this sale he resided at Ramsey, where he continued till his death; which, Mr. Noble says, from the register of the parish, was 28th August, 1655, in the 92d year of his age, and where he was buried. His estates appear to have been very large.

FAMILY BRANCHES.

Amongst the collateral branches of the family, are to be found in the pedigree the St. Johns; and, amongst others of that name, Oliver St. John, Lord St. John of Bletsoe; Edward Lord Clinton, Earl of Lincoln, Admiral of England in Queen Elizabeth's reign; William Lord Howard, Chamberlain to the same queen; Richard Gray, Lord Powis; Edward, Lord Dudley: these are in the line of Sir Richard Cromwell. In the next line

are, Henry Cary, Baron of Hunsdon, Lord Chamberlain to Queen Elizabeth; Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral of England; Anthony Browne, Viscount Montacute. In the next line, William Howard, Earl of Effingham; Thomas Manners, Earl of Rutland; and two of Sir Henry Cromwell's daughters, married into the Hampdens' and Barringtons' families. It is probable that from the St. John's family the name of Oliver came into the Cromwell family.

THE PROTECTOR'S FATHER.

Sir Henry Cromwell's second son was Robert Cromwell, Oliver Cromwell's father. Mr. Noble says he represented Huntingdon in the parliament 35 Eliz. He also says, that he was named a commissioner, in 1605, for draining the fens in the counties of Northampton, Lincoln, Huntingdon, and Cambridge. His, Robert's, wife (Cromwell's mother) was Elizabeth, the daughter, some say, of Sir Richard Steward, Stewart, or Stuart; other authorities say, of Sir Thomas or Sir Robert. She is described, in an old pedigree of the Cromwell family, as co-heiress of her father (not giving his name) with her sister Mary, who married Sir Humphrey Foster. Mr. Noble, in his third edition, says, that she was the daughter of William Steward of the city of Ely, esq. and widow of William Lynne, son and heir-apparent of John Lynne of Bassingbourne, esq. and who, he says, after remaining a widow about a year, married Robert Cromwell, esq. by whom she had Oliver Cromwell and several other children.

The same writer (Mr. Noble), from the writers of those times, describes Cromwell's father as (having a small fortune) carrying on a large brewing business, the accounts whereof, he says, were wholly attended to by his wife; who, after his decease, continued to carry it on; whereby she was enabled to give her daughters sufficient fortunes to marry them into genteel families. Dr. Harris gives the same account from Dugdale and other authorities, and very justly adds, that, if true, it could not be deemed discreditable to the family, the youngest brothers of the best families in this country engaging in trade, and thereby raising themselves to fortune and independency. It has been also said that Cromwell himself was engaged

in the same business for his support. All this has been said by Cromwell's enemies, for the purpose of degrading him; but no evidence to be relied on is produced in support of these assertions. The truth is, nothing certain is likely to be known of his early life, or the pecuniary circumstances of his parents. But it should be observed that Cromwell, in his speech to his parliament, of 12th September 1654, says, "I was by birth a gentleman, neither living in any considerable height, nor yet in obscurity;"—and that he had been called to several employments in the nation, and to serve in parliaments. This account of himself, publicly given in the face of the nation, open therefore to contradiction if not true, is surely a sufficient confutation of all the stories of his and his family's narrow circumstances, and their engagements in trade in consequence.

THE PROTECTOR.

The time of his birth is ascertained to have been upon the 25th April, 1599, and it appears to have been at Huntingdon. That his father, during his life, and his mother, after his father's death, were careful of his education, is probable; but his being first under the tuition of one person and then of another; his proficiency or non-proficiency in learning; his aspiring, stubborn, obstinate temper, incurring severe correction; and the accounts of the boisterousness of his disposition rendered him a terror to the neighbourhood; and, above all, the incredible story of his disagreement with and giving the king's son, the then duke of York, afterwards King Charles, a blow, when at play at Hinchinbrooke; also his supposed dream of his future greatness, and his acting in the comedy of *Lingua*;—these must be the fabrications of the different writers after the Restoration, who chose to suppose there must be something marvellous and criminal in the very earliest moments of this extraordinary man's life. Indeed, it is quite improbable that all, or any of the trifling incidents of his childhood and youth, should have been noticed, and then preserved during a period of between fifty and sixty years; nor was it very likely that the witnesses to these things should have been then living, and in possession of memory and mental powers sufficient to have accurately remembered and related them.

HIS LOVE OF LEARNING.

Dr. Harris adds, from different writers, that when Cromwell was chancellor of the University of Oxford, and within a year

year after his assuming the protectorate, he, at his own charge, bestowed on the public library there twenty-five ancient manuscripts, ten of which were in folio and fourteen in quarto; all in Greek, except two or three. This must be the forementioned donation Neal refers to; that he also ordered to a private divinity reader there, (newly chosen to that place,) an annuity of one hundred pounds per annum out of the exchequer, for his encouragement; that, when the great design was on foot of publishing the Polyglott, by Dr. Walton, Cromwell permitted the paper to be imported duty free. And he adds, that it is a fact attested by his very enemies, that he hindered the sale of Archbishop Usher's valuable library of prints and manuscripts to foreigners, and caused it to be purchased and sent over to Dublin, with an intention to bestow it on a new college or hall, which he had proposed to build and endow there.

HIS WIFE AND CHILDREN.

Cromwell married Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir James Bouchier, of Fitsted, in Essex, Mr. Noble says, August 22, 1620, at St. Giles's church, Cripplegate, London, which he seems, by a note, to take from MS. Register, Coll. Arm. London; but it seems that the parish register of this marriage is not to be found. Mr. Noble says she survived Cromwell seven years, finding an asylum in the house of her son-in-law, Mr. Claypoole, at Norborough, in Lincolnshire, where she continued until her death, and was buried in a vault in the chancel of that church; but that no memorial is to be found to her memory. In his first edition he says, she died 16th September 1672, aged 74, which he collects from an inscription on a tomb, within the communion rails of the chancel of the church of Wicken, in Cambridgeshire; but in this third edition he says, "it is now incontestable that she was buried at Norborough." Mr. Noble appears to found his conviction of her interment at Norborough, upon a passage in the will of Cromwell Claypoole, the eldest son of Cromwell's daughter, Mrs. Claypoole, by which he directs the interment of his body to be at Norborough, as near his grandmother Cromwell as convenience would admit.

Cromwell had nine children, five of whom survived him; namely, Richard, who succeeded him in the protectorate; Henry, the Lord Deputy of Ireland; Bridget, who married first General Henry Ireton, and then General Charles Fleetwood; Mary, married to Thomas, vis-

count, afterwards Earl Fauconberg, and Frances, who married Robert Rich, grandson and heir-apparent of Robert, Earl of Warwick, and afterwards Sir John Russell, bart; Elizabeth, his second daughter, who married Mr. Claypoole, died in less than a month before her father.

HIS RESIDENCE.

From the time of his marriage to the year 1636, he appears to have resided at Huntingdon, the baptisms of eight of his children being in the register of the parish of St. John Baptist, in that town; the last on the 9th of February of that year. Between that time and the year 1638, he must have removed to Ely, his last child, Frances, appearing in the register of St. Mary in Ely, kept at St. Mary's church at Cambridge, to have been baptized at Ely in the December of that year. And so far forward as 1649 he appears to have considered himself a resident of Ely, being described as the Right Honourable Oliver Cromwell, of Ely, in a settlement remaining in the Cromwell family papers, dated 28th April, 1649, made previous to the marriage of his son Richard Cromwell, with Dorothy Major.

Huntingdon, it is said, became disagreeable to him, partly in consequence of his uncle Sir Oliver Cromwell's loyalty, and his influence in the corporation of Huntingdon.

Mr. Noble says, that he finds nothing respecting the Cromwell family in the St. Ives' register; and there does not seem any interval for Cromwell's removal to and residence there, unless between 1631, the year of his son James's birth and burial, and the birth of Mary in 1636, during which five years Mr. Noble supposes him to have been resident at St. Ives, and then to have returned to Huntingdon, which is to account for Mary's baptism at Huntingdon.

It certainly does appear that Cromwell was resident at St. Ives, in the years 1633 and 1634, by two entries signed by him in the parish-books*; also in 1635, by a letter written by him on the 11th January in that year from that place, given by Dr. Harris from the original in the British Museum. His removal from thence to Ely must have been upon the death of his maternal uncle, Sir Thomas Steward, in the year 1636. The account

* We have seen these entries, and have visited the house of his residence.—
EDITOR.

count of his supposed waste of time, and of his substance at St. Ives, is incredible and ridiculous; Cromwell never thus mixed and confounded his temporal and spiritual duties.

It is conceived, that it has not been proved that Cromwell had been irregular in his life up to the time of his quitting Huntingdon for Ely, which must have been, for the reasons before mentioned, in or about the years 1636 or 1637; and that, from what has been brought forward, the contrary appears. He settled at Ely, upon his uncle Sir Thomas Steward's death, in 1636, with a numerous family, having, the fore-mentioned panegyric says, a most excellent wife, and having lived not only void of all vices, but full of all virtues.

When at Ely, his mind does not appear wholly engrossed by this supposed religious melancholy and dissatisfaction: he is found engaged in the public business of his neighbourhood.

HIS CONDUCT TO CHARLES.

Cromwell certainly very reluctantly concurred in the measure of the trial of the king. His sincerity in the negotiation for his restoration upon moderate terms, and his assistance in favouring the king's escape from Hampton Court, and placing him in a state of personal freedom to quit the kingdom, cannot reasonably be doubted. The insincerity he discovered in the king in the treaty, and the threats of the agitators, who appear to have comprehended the greatest part of the army, alarmed him, and satisfied him that he could be of no further service to the king than to facilitate his escape; and it was the king's own fault that he did not avail himself of the opportunity afforded him.

CROMWELL'S CHARACTER.

Cromwell's great valour, industry, and judgment, and wonderful understanding of men, and skill in his application of that understanding, are acknowledged by Lord Clarendon, who describes him as a valiant and great man, of a great spirit, admirable circumspection and sagacity, and a most magnanimous resolution: that, as he grew into place and authority, his parts seemed to be raised as if he had concealed faculties till he had occasion to use them; and, when he was to act the part of a great man, he did it without any indecency, notwithstanding the want of custom. Sir

Philip Warwick describes him as of a great and majestic deportment and comely presence.

HIS MILITARY PROWESS.

Cromwell fought the battle of Horn-castle, or Winsby, commanding (Lord Fairfax, in his memorial, says) the Earl of Manchester's force, which had been previously joined by his lordship, and under the immediate eye of the earl: that he (Cromwell) had the command of the van, the reserve of horse, and the earl all the foot. The royalists were defeated. In this same battle, Rushworth says that the earl's horse and foot came on to the attack singing psalms; that Cromwell's horse was shot and fell upon him; and that, as he rose, he was knocked down by the gentleman that charged him, supposed to be Sir Ralph Hopton, but that he again rose, and recovered a poor horse in a soldier's hand, which he mounted, and pursued his success. In favour of this same cowardly general was suspended, at the request of the same General Lord Fairfax, the operation of the self-denying ordinance, that he might be present and assist in the then expected engagement with the royal army, and which shortly afterwards happened at Naseby; the total defeat of which was principally, if not wholly, attributed to Cromwell's courage and conduct. He afterwards subdued the Welch royalists; defeated the Scots army, under Duke Hamilton, though very greatly superior in numbers to his own army; he defeated the Scots army at Dunbar, and reduced Edinburgh Castle; and finally, defeated King Charles the Second's army at the battle of Worcester. These, with many other lesser engagements, were the successes of Cromwell's arms.

The unimpeachableness of his (Cromwell's) private character, and his sobriety and morality, and religious deportment, in all his different situations and circumstances, also his bravery and personal courage, and his great abilities, are allowed on all hands; except his courage in the solitary feeble attempts of Mr. Holles, they are indisputable; but he is described by his lordship (Clarendon), and all other his enemies of the then, and even of the present times, as hypocritical and tyrannical, cruel and blood-thirsty; as obtaining his elevation by deceit and violence, and generally,

rally, as a most wicked and depraved character, destitute of every valuable quality and worthy motive in any of his seemingly-best actions. The justness of these parts of his character remain to be considered.

CROMWELL'S DEATH.

The following letter is in Thurloe, from Lord Fauconberg to Henry Cromwell, dated 7th December, 1658, N.S. informing him of the death of Cromwell. "Deare My Lord; This bearer, Mr. Underwood, brings your lordship the sad newes of our general losse in your incomparable father's death, by which these poore nations are deprived of the greatest personage and instrument of happinesse, not only our owne, but indeed any age else ever produced. The preceding night, and not before, in presence of four or five of the councill, he declared my Lord Richard his successor; the next morning grew speechlesse, and departed betwixt three and four in the evening. A hard dispensation itt was, but so itt has seemed good to the allwise God; and what remaines to poore creatures, but to lay our hands upon our mouthes to the declaration of his pleasure? Some three houres after his decease (a time spent only in framing the draught, not in any doubtfull dispute) was your lordship's brother, his now highnesse, declared Protector of these nations, with full consent of counsell, soldier, and city. The next day he was proclaimed in the usuall places. All the time his late highnesse was drawing on to his end, the consternation and astonishment of people is inexpressible,—their harts seemed as sunke within them. And if this abroad, in the family your lordship may imagine what it was in her highness, and other neer-relations. My poor wife, I knowe not what in the earth to doe with her; when seemingly quieted she bursts out again into passion, that tears hir very hart in pieces; nor can I blame her, considering what she has lost. It fares little better with others. God, I trust, will sanctifye this bitter cup to us all. His mercy is extraordinary, as to the quiet face of things among us, which I hope the Lord will continue. Your lordship's most affectionately faithfull and very humble servant,

"FAUCONBERG."

Whitelocke, in his mention of his (Cromwell's) daughter Claypoole's death, says nothing to induce a supposition of the reality of the alleged per-

plexing conferences with her father, or of her allusion, in her bodily sufferings, to the blood she is asserted by his lordship to have accused him of having shed. He speaks highly of her, and says her death did much grieve her father. His lordship acknowledges he (Cromwell) had not the least appearance upon his approaching death of remorse for any of his actions; and concludes with only saying, that either what she said, or her death, affected him wonderfully.

General Fleetwood, in a letter to Henry Cromwell, dated July 1658, says, "Deare brother, I have received yours, whearin you desire to understand the condicion of my Lady Elizabeth, who was in a very hopefull condicion till within this three or four days, she hath bin exceeding ill, and very much weakned, and brought low, but hoped she is agayn upon the mending hand. Shee hath bin troubled with great paynes in her bowells, and vapours in the heade. The truth is, its beleevd the physitians do not understand thoroughly hir case. She is now advised to tak Tunbridge waters. It hath bin a very sore and sharpe tryall; yet being a father's hand, I hope we shall have all of us advantage by it, for sure it is a voyce to all of the relations. I neade not tell you the great sence both their highnesses have of this dispensation. There is nothing wanting of care or skill: but the blessing of the Lord must make all effectuall. She hath many prayers going for hir, a return of which will make the mercy double. Both their highnesses and family are at Hampton-court. His Highness takes the waters, and they agree pritty well."

In a letter to Henry Cromwell, dated 3d August following, he writes,—"that it had pleased the Lord, when all hopes were even at an end, and the doctors did believe her ladyship's condition was desperate and near expiring, beyend all expectation to give hir a composure of spirits by sleepe; and that since Friday last, she had bin dayly upon the recovery, and so continued in a very hopefull way: that his Highness had bin for this four or five days very indisposed and ill; but that night had had a very good refreshment by sleep, and was much revived, his paynes and distemper abated and much amended, &c."

In a letter to Henry Cromwell, dated 24th August, 1658, Thurloe says, "His Highness continuing ill, hath given a stopp

stopp to all buissines: he was soe well upon Friday, that wee hoped that the worst of his sickness was over; but it pleased God, that upon Saterdag morninge he fell into a fitt of an ague, and by its course ever since, it appears to be a tertian. The fitts were longe and somewhat sharpe; but yet the last was not soe badd as the former. This being the intervall day, he came from Hampton-court hither, all the doctors judgeinge this to be much the better place, besides the advantage which the change of aire usually gives for the recovery out of agues; and, although it be an ill tyme of the yeare to have an ague in, yet itt beinge a tertian, and his Highness being pretty well in the intervalls, the doctors do not conceive there is any danger as to his life. However, your Excellency will easily ymagine how much trouble we are all under here; and, though it shall please the Lord to recover him againe, yet, certeinly, considering the tyme that this visitation is in, and other circumstances relating thereunto, it cannot but greatly affect us all towards God, and make us deeply sensible how much our dependence is upon him, in whose hands is the life and breath of this his old servant; and if he should take him away from amongst us, how terrible a blow it would be to all the good people of the land; and that therefore we should be carefull how wee walke towards God, least wee provoke him to depart from us, and bringe upon us this great evil," &c. A postscript—"His highness is just now enteringe into his fitt. I beseech the Lord to be favourable to him."

In a letter dated 27th of the same August, Whitehall, two in the morning, Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, describes his (Cromwell's) fit upon the Tuesday night as somewhat more favourable than the former; and that the good interval after it, gave great hopes that his ague was very much upon the decrease, especially the fit which he then was in beginning very favourably, the cold part of it slipping over without any observation; but that the hot fit had been very long and terrible, insomuch that the doctors feared he would not get through it: that he was then fallen into a breathing sweat, which, it was hoped, he would come well out of. He adds, that he durst not to inform him (Henry Cromwell) that the last fit had rendered his Highness's condition very dangerous, and doubts their fears were more than their hopes.

On the 30th of the same month, he writes, that lest the last-mentioned let-

ter should miscarry he had sent an express that he (Henry Cromwell) might fully understand how it was with his Highness: that on the 13th day, since his ague took him, having been sick a fortnight before, of a general distemper of body: that it continued a good while to be a tertian ague and the burning fits very violent: that upon Saturday it fell to a double tertian, having two fits in twenty-four hours, one upon the heels of another, which had extremely weakened him, and endangered his life: and that since Saturday morning, he had scarce been perfectly out of his fits: that the doctors were yet hopeful that he might struggle through it, though their hopes were mingled with much fear. But truly, adds he (Thurloe), wee have cause to put our hope in the Lord, and to expect mercy from him in this case, hee haveinge stirr'd up the saints to pray for him in all places, &c. "And that which is some ground of hope is, that the Lord, as in some former occasions, hath given to himself (Cromwell) a perticuler assurance, that he shall yet live to serve hym, and to carry on the worke which he hath put into his hands." He proceeds:—That "he fears our own divisions may be great, if his Highness should not settle and fix his successor before he dies; which truly, I believe, he hath not yet done. He did by himselfe declare one in a paper before he was installed by the Parliament, and sealed it up in the forme of a letter, directing it to me, but kept both the name of the person and the paper to himselfe. After he fell sicke at Hampton-court, he sent Mr. John Barrington to London for it, telling hym it lay on his study-table at Whitehall; but it was not to be found there, nor elsewhere, though it hath beene very narrowly looked for. And in this condition matters stand, his Highness having been too ill to be troubled with a buissiness of this importance. This day he hath had some discourse about it, but his illness disenabled hym to conclude it fully. And if it should please the Lord not to give hym tyme to settle his succession before his death, the judgment would be the soarer, and our condition the more dangerous; but trust he will have compassion on us, and not leave us as a prey to our enemies, or to one another."

Lord Fauconberg, in a letter to Henry Cromwell, dated the same 30th August, says—"It is with unspeakable grief I now give your lordship the sad account of his Highness's condition, which all the physician

physicians have for some days judged dangerous, and now, more than ever. Though his loss must needs carry weight ynough in itselfe, yet the consideration of the miserable posture hee leaves these nations in, is stupendious. My lord, I hold it my duty to acquaint you how wee stand at present, and then leave the further proceed of things to God's direction and your lordship's wisdom. A successor, there is none named that I can learn; T. (Thurloe) has seemed to be resolved to press him, in his intervals, to such a nomination: but, whether out of apprehensions to displease him, if recovering, or others hereafter, if it should not succeed, he has not yet done it, nor doe I believe wil.' Tuesday, August 31. "His Highness is beyond al possibility of recovery."

Thurloe, in a letter dated 4th September, (Saturday,) 1658, informs Henry Cromwell of Cromwell's death. "He died yesterday (Friday, 3d,) about four of the clocke in the afternoone. I am not able to speake or write; this stroake is so soare, soe unexpected, the providence of God in it so stupendious, consideringe the person that is fallen, the tyme and season wherein God took hym away, with other circumstances, I can doe nothinge, but put my mouthe in the dust and say, it is the Lord; and, though his wayes be not alwayes knowne, yet they are alwayes righteous, and we must submitt to his will, and resigne up ourselves to him with all our concernements. His Highness was pleased before his death to declare my Lord Richard successor. He did it upon Munday (the 30th), and the Lord hath so ordered it, that the council and army have received him with all manner of affection."

Thurloe in the forementioned letter of the 4th September, says, he (Cromwell) appointed his son Richard, his successor on the Monday preceding his decease; on which day Lord Fauconberg says in his letter, he had not then done it, nor did he believe he would. Sir Philip Warwick says, that, from the information of one of his physicians, he was never during his last illness in a state of mind to determine any thing of his successor, referring to Thurloe's declaration of his appointment of his son Richard to the protectorate. Nevertheless, it is undeniable, that on the evening before his death, (Thursday the 2d September,) he was sufficiently himself to compose and utter the following prayer, which remains with the Cromwell family papers, and is probably the one mentioned in a

letter of Thurloe's, to be then sent to Henry: it is described, "His Highness's prayer, Sept. 2d, being the night before he departed."—"Lord, although I am a wretched and miserable creature, I am in covenant with thee through grace, and I may, I will come unto thee for my people: thou hast made me a mean instrument to doe them some good and thee sarves, and many of them have sett too high a vallue upon me, though others wishe and would be glad of my death; but, Lord, however thou shalt dispose of me, continue and goe on to doe good for them; give them consistancy of judgment, mutual love, and one harte; goe one to deliver them, and with the worke of reformation, and make the nam of Christ glorious in the world; teach those who looke too much upon thy instruments to depend more upon thyselfe. Pardon such as desire to trample upon the dust of a poore worme; for they are thy people too, and pardon the folly of this short prayer, for Jesus Christ his sake, and give us a good night, if it be thy pleasure."

Neal, in his History of the Puritans, says, from Baxter's Life, "About twelve hours before he died, he lay very quiet, when Major Butler being in his chamber, says he heard him make his last prayer to this purpose,—“Lord, I am a poor foolish creature; this people would fain have me live; they think it best for them, and that it will redound much to thy glory, and all the stir is about this. Others would fain have me die; Lord, pardon them, and pardon thy foolish people; forgive their sins, and do not for sake them, but love and bless and give them rest, and bring them to a consistency, and give me rest for Jesus Christ's sake, to whom, with thee and thy Holy Spirit, be all honour and glory, now and for ever. Amen.”

HIS ALLEGED ENTHUSIASM.

For the purpose of determining upon this supposed enthusiasm of Cromwell, it becomes necessary to ascertain the state of religion in the sixteenth century.

The religion of this country, as has been observed, had not been well settled in Queen Elizabeth's reign; a very large portion of the nation, both Catholics and Protestants, had been then left greatly dissatisfied, and had suffered in that reign severe persecutions on account of their conscientious inability to conform to the ruling religion. Afterwards the Protestant part of the nation become greatly apprehensive of the introduction of the Roman Catholic religion,

gion, upon their discovering the determination (both of King James and of his son, afterwards King Charles the First,) upon the latter's marriage of a princess of that religion, and by his accordingly subsequent marriage: and these apprehensions were not a little heightened by the high principles and violent proceedings of Archbishop Laud, who was become a great favourite, and the ruling ecclesiastical minister of both reigns; and was thought to be favourably disposed towards that religion.

Thus impressed, it should not excite surprise that the conduct and language of the nation, both in public and in private, should strongly partake of a religious nature, and that, consequently, Scripture phrases should have been so much used, not only by the particular religions of those times, but in the speeches of the members of both Houses of Parliament; and even in those of both these kings, James and Charles. So much in use do they appear to have been from the time of the Reformation, that a reservation was made in the statute of the thirty-fourth and thirty-fifth of King Henry VIII. in favour of the chancellors in Parliament, judges, recorders, and all others who had been accustomed on public occasions to make speeches, and commonly took a place of Scripture for their text, to continue that practice.

Religion had a large share of the animosities and heart-burning disputes of those reigns of King James, and his son King Charles the First, very much resulting from the intemperate and indiscreet zeal of the archbishop, in matters of rites and ceremonies, and other things of no real consequence or value to the church, or tendency to the increase of its stability. These he pressed on all, both clergy and laity, with the most unrelenting severity, not making the least allowance for conscientious nonconformity, or difference of opinion, respecting what he determined, in his arrogant and impetuous, and fatally mistaken, zeal, to impose.

This misguiding favourite and counsellor originated the war with Scotland, in pursuit of the same objects there, which soon spread itself over England, and proved fatal to its religious establishment.

The destruction of the national establishment, and the consequent termination of all ecclesiastical restrictions, left the nation at liberty to adopt and profess different articles of religious faith, and modes and forms of worship, ac-

cording to their several opinions and fancies; which necessarily divided it into divers sects or bodies of religious professors. Each of these sects or bodies bore a name allusive to the nature and forms of their respective religious tenets and church-governments.

Cromwell was certainly a religious professor, and nothing has hitherto appeared, to prove him other than also a really religious character. But this will not answer these writers' purpose: he must be imperfect and faulty in every thing; even his religion, if its sincerity be admitted, must be excessive; he must then be deemed righteous over-much by those who call themselves Christians, but who deny every principal fact and doctrine of the Scriptures, believed to be most unequivocally therein stated and declared by those of Cromwell's faith and profession, and who, with him, hold them to be the fundamentals of religion, and the guides of their faith and practice:—also probably, by the lukewarm believers of these facts and doctrines, either wholly or partially, he, Cromwell, will be deemed an enthusiast. His faith in prayer has been much condemned, as tending to, and producing, spiritual pride and confidence. He might carry it to excess; but who shall say where this reliance, this confidence, shall stop? A less ardent and feelingly religious mind than Cromwell's, would have been sensibly impressed and confirmed in his reliance upon the efficacy of prayer by his extraordinary and most unlooked-for deliverance in the battle of Dunbar, on the 3d of September, 1650, related by Bishop Burnet.

Who that ever prays will take upon himself to deny this extraordinary and unlooked-for and utterly improbable event, to be an immediate answer to that prayer of Cromwell's? It is then not surprising that he should be thus deeply impressed with the efficacy of prayer, and feel strongly assured of favourable answers, having been in the constant use of it preparatory to all the important actions of his life, and probably never fighting a battle without previous prayer of himself and his army for the success of it; and it has been observed that he never was defeated. He may have yielded too far to these assurances and favourable answers; and others may have availed themselves of this tendency, to impose upon him by pretences of like assurances; but it is not wonderful, favoured so extraordinarily as he had been in all his undertakings, that he should feel

feel an unusual assurance of more than human support.

The above may be considered to be the whole amount of this charge of enthusiasm. There is no crime in a heated imagination; it may lead men into error, and if the effects of their error be mischievous, or inconvenient to others, those effects become punishable: the thing is innocent in itself; but, what to some may appear an heated imagination, may be found to be no more than the degree of warmth and energy properly belonging to the subject.

Cromwell's settled disapprobation of religious persecution, adds no considerable proof of the extraordinary greatness and comprehensiveness of his mind and understanding. He appears to have early and forcibly seen and adopted the great principle of the right of private judgment in matters of religion, contrary to, it is conceived may be said, the universal, opposite principle and practice of those times: none of the religious sects and parties of those days had an idea of toleration; their contest was for power, which should be uppermost and rule the rest, without an apprehension of the justice of allowing their opponents their right of judging for themselves in a matter so highly important to their present and future interests; each sect had its Uniformity Act, and its consequent persecuting principle, which they enforced with the most rigid severity. This principle Cromwell opposed with all his power; and there is not an instance in his whole history, of his voluntary disturbance of merely religious opinions.

HUME'S MISREPRESENTATIONS.

Mr. Hume says, that Cromwell, though himself a barbarian, was not insensible to literary merit. He mentions the instance of his attention to Archbishop Usher, who, notwithstanding, he says, being a bishop, received a pension from him; that Marvel and Milton were in his service; that Waller, who was his relation, was caressed by him; that other eminent writers flourished in his time, as Cowley, Sir John Denham, Hobbes, Harrington, and Harvey the physician. He adds, from Whitelock, that Sir John Davenant, in the year 1658, published an opera, notwithstanding the nicety of the times: also the circumstance of his giving one hundred pounds a-year to the divinity-professor at Oxford, and of his intention of erecting a college at Durham for the benefit of the northern counties. In Thurloe, is a letter from Dr. Ralph Cudworth to Thurloe, dated 20th Janu-

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ary, 1658, informing him of his intention to publish some discourses in Latin, in defence of Christianity against Judaism, which task, he says, he the rather undertook, not only because it was suitable to his Hebrew profession, but also because he conceived it to be a work proper and suitable to the then present age: that it was his purpose to dedicate these fruits of his studies to his Highness (Richard), to whose noble father he was much obliged, if he might have leave, or presume so to do, &c. Mr. Neal observes of Dr. Cudworth, that he was universally known in the learned world for his great learning, which he discovered in his intellectual system; he should only observe, he conformed at the Restoration, and a little before, resigned his mastership of Clare-hall into the hands of Dr. Dillingham, who continued it to his death. To which instances may be added, from different writers quoted by Dr. Harris, Dr. John Pell, eminent for his skill in the mathematics, in the Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, Italian, French, Spanish, and High and Low Dutch languages, and who was appointed envoy from the Protector to the Protestant cantons in Switzerland. Mr. (afterwards Sir) William Petty, was ordered by Cromwell to take a survey, and make maps, of the kingdom of Ireland, for which he had a salary of 365*l.* per annum, besides many other advantages, which enabled him to raise a great estate. His (Cromwell's) presentment of the Greek manuscripts to the Bodleian library; also the permission of the importation, duty-free, of the paper intended for Dr. Walton's Polyglot Bible; also his preventing the sale of Archbishop Usher's valuable library to foreigners, by causing it to be purchased and sent to Dublin; and many other instances might be added, of his patronage of learning and learned men. Mr. Neal relates, that, in order to secure the education of youth, he took care to regulate both Universities, and the public schools, by appointing new visitors; the former ceasing with the dissolution of the Long Parliament. He (Neal) then gives their names; and adds that, by their proper and diligent discharge of their duty, learning revived, and the Muses returned to their seats, as appeared by the number of learned men who adorned the reign of King Charles the Second, and owed their education to those times. Notwithstanding all these instances to the contrary, Mr. Hume ventures to assert, that gaiety and wit were in those times proscribed; human

earning despised; freedom of enquiry detested; cant and hypocrisy alone encouraged.

Nothing appears in Cromwell's character to justify this epithet of barbarian. He, Mr. Hume, referring to the offer to him of the crown, describes the members of the committee appointed to confer with him, and to endeavour to overcome his supposed scruples, as discovering judgment, knowledge, elocution; Lord Broghill, in particular, exerting himself on this occasion: then contrasting them with Cromwell's replies. After, continues Mr. Hume, so singular a manner does Nature distribute her talents, that, in a nation abounding with sense and learning, a man, who, by superior personal merit alone, had made his way to supreme dignity, and had even obliged the Parliament to make him a tender of the crown, was yet incapable of expressing himself on this occasion, but in a manner which a peasant of the most ordinary capacity would justly be ashamed of. He (Mr. Hume) then says, "we shall produce any passage at random, for his discourse is all of a piece:" he then gives a passage from the account of the conference at Whitehall upon this occasion. The great defect in Oliver's speeches, continues Mr. Hume, consists, not in his want of elocution, but in his want of ideas; that the sagacity of his actions, and the absurdity of his discourse, form the most prodigious contrast that ever was known. He however, in contradiction of his own description of Cromwell's want of ideas, but not of elocution, describes him, a few pages afterwards, as not defective in any talent except that of elocution. These passages are irreconcilable: both cannot be true.

Religious profession, without regard to the sincerity or insincerity of its professors, seems to be, with Mr. Hume, a great crime: he appears to treat very lightly the licentiousness of the reign of Charles the Second, deeming excesses to be less pernicious to men of birth and fortune, than to the vulgar; the contrary must surely be true: the licentiousness of the great is not only equally pernicious to themselves with the inferior orders, destroying their healths, and fortunes, and characters; but the evil consequences of their bad example spread far and wide amongst their inferiors, who are too prone to imitate them, even in vice and folly; whence that wickedness and depravity so obvious in the lower orders of every people, where this bad example prevails.

However lightly Mr. Hume may hold cock-matches and bear-baiting, they are, certainly, as is also bull-baiting and prize-fighting, or pugilism, as it is now gently termed, inhuman and unmanly, degrading amusements: and, notwithstanding Mr. Hume's contemptuous manner of expressing himself, of the rigid severity of their abolition, they are, surely, both heathenish and unchristian, and ought not to be admitted amongst a people calling themselves Christians.

The ordinance prohibiting cock-matches is dated 31st March, 1654: it states that public meetings and assemblies of people together in divers parts of the nation, under pretence of matches for cock-fighting, were found to tend many times to the disturbance of the public peace, and were commonly accompanied with gaming, drinking, swearing, quarrelling, and other dissolute practices, to the dishonour of God; and did often produce the ruin of persons and their families: this ordinance prohibits such meetings.

The most fastidious can surely see no gloomy enthusiasm, or fanaticism, or rigid severity in the suspension of theatrical amusements during these awful times; which, it should be observed, were not wholly done away, but only suspended to the return of better times of joy and gladness. Cock-matches are, on the contrary, wholly prohibited; and so they should be, for every reason, as one of the most vile and cruel amusements.

Mr. Hume says, if we survey the moral character of Cromwell with that indulgence which is due to the blindness and infirmities of the human species, we shall not be inclined to load his memory with such violent reproaches as those which his enemies usually throw upon it: that the private deportment of Cromwell, as a son, a husband, a father, a friend, is exposed to no considerable censure, if it does not rather merit praise: and that, upon the whole, his character does not appear more extraordinary and unusual by the mixture of so much absurdity with so much penetration, than by his tempering such violent ambition and such enraged fanaticism with so much regard to justice and humanity.

It is difficult to common understandings to conceive the meaning of the latter part of this passage; the terms, "absurdity and enraged fanaticism," do not seem intelligible as applicable to Cromwell; but, it is curious to observe, the caution and reluctance of his praise of his private deportment in his several different

ent characters: he knew that he was in these respects irreproachable, and he should in candour have said so.

HIS PUBLIC CONDUCT.

The following are the only serious charges against Cromwell:

The share he is alleged to have had in bringing about the Self-denying Ordinance; the removal of the king from Holmby-house; his concurrence in the measure of bringing the king to trial; his determination of the long parliament, and, in consequence, the republican form of government; and his assumption of the supreme power.

All these charges have been before considered; but it may be proper, in conclusion, to add a few words upon each of them.

The grand reliance of Cromwell's enemies was, upon their denial of all faith in his veracity. This, Lord Clarendon, and all other the adverse writers, endeavour to establish as a principle; no doubt of great use to them, in their designed misrepresentations of his actions, and the motives of those actions; they accordingly use this instrument very freely. This impeachment of his veracity, necessarily, as intended, increases the difficulty of the part of his defence depending upon his own declarations; nevertheless, it should be remembered, that these declarations are only opposed by mere assertion on the other side.

Upon the subject of the Self-denying Ordinance, and the removal of the king from Holmby, so far as concerns Cromwell, nothing need be added to the account already given of these transactions, and to the observations thereon. To those who disbelieve the sincerity and veracity of Cromwell, and of those who acted with him, or affect so to do, nothing that can be offered will prevail upon them to acknowledge their conviction that Cromwell had not a thought of the suspension of the act in his favour; and that he came to Windsor for the express purpose (as Rushworth relates) of taking leave of the General Fairfax. It being impossible to dive into the secret motives and minds of men, the sincerity of Cromwell, and of those acting with him in this transaction, must necessarily be incapable of absolute proof: it must rest upon the several circumstances before stated, which ought to leave no doubt of Cromwell's innocence in this matter. It is however certain, that the consequences, the speedy termination of the war, prove the necessity and wisdom

of the Ordinance, and of its suspension in favour of Cromwell, to whose valour and military abilities must principally, if not wholly, be attributed all the future successes of the parliament army. And, in like manner, Cromwell's solemnly repeated declarations of his ignorance of the removal by Cornet Joyce, of the king from Holmby, must rest upon the belief of the sincerity of those declarations, and the several before-stated circumstances attending that transaction; which, to unprejudiced minds, will surely be accepted as sufficient evidence that Cromwell was not privy to it, and that it was solely the act of the agitators, for the reasons assigned by them in their foregone narration.

Cromwell's concurrence in the measure of bringing the king to trial is not, nor can be, denied. But it is perfectly clear, from the forestated facts, that he once wished to save and restore him; and had he dealt ingenuously and sincerely with Cromwell, and the other principal officers, he would have been restored, (or at least the attempt would have been made) upon more favourable terms than offered by the parliament, particularly as to religion. Ludlow expressly charges upon Cromwell as a crime, this treating with the king, calling it a driving on a bargain for the people's liberty by Oliver alone.

There remains no reasonable ground of doubt that Cromwell assisted the king in his escape from Hampton-court, and that he arrived upon the coast of Hampshire in a state of perfect liberty to quit the kingdom; and that his going to the Isle of Wight was wholly his own act: that the parliament commissioners had all the time they could wish for the negotiation, with the king, of the treaty of Newport; and that it was defeated solely by their own obstinacy in adhering to their unreasonable terms of the king's religious conformity and other conditions, with which they might have well dispensed, and have concluded the treaty long before Cromwell's arrival, had that been likely to be an obstacle to such conclusion; but it was much more probable that Cromwell was sent out of the way to Scotland, that he might not impede the design of the republicans of bringing the king to trial.

The exclusion of the members, previous and preparatory to bringing the king to trial, has been also attributed to Cromwell; he declares he did not know of the design; and it was certainly determined on, and executed before

fore his arrival in London : and Ludlow takes to himself the whole merit, as he deems it, of that transaction ; nevertheless, severely condemning Cromwell for his subsequent dismissal of the rest of them, in his dissolution of the Long Parliament.

Nothing more need be said upon the subject than what has been already said, to prove that Cromwell very reluctantly came into the determination, of bringing the king to trial. His arguments with the Scots' commissioners, given by Bishop Burnet from the relation of Colonel Drummond, afterwards Lord Strathallan, so far as it may be relied on, certainly show that he (Cromwell) had then apparently become convinced of the necessity and justice of the determination ; whether this alteration of his conduct towards the king originated in fear of the republican party, who were hurrying on the measure, and who were jealous of him (Cromwell) does not certainly appear ; but there is much reason to believe it did. The measure itself did not want defenders, upon various principles : it was certainly a very bold, though not seemingly a politic, surely not a legal one. But it may be contended, on behalf of those concerned in it, that they deemed it to be so, in their consciences and judgments ; which, though no proof of the legality or rightness of the action, should moderate the severity of their adversaries' language, when speaking of those persons, and of this action. And considering the confusions and distractions, and various opinions of those times, it should seem that it would have been honourable in the king to have extended his Act of Oblivion to those persons, and all others, without exception ; but he was driven on by the parliament, many of whom had equally contributed to the king's death, and to much of the subsequent proceedings, with those that sat in judgment upon him, only they had the good fortune to escape punishment by turning round in time.

This measure has been considered by its defenders, as an awful and useful lesson to sovereigns, of the danger of offending their subjects by illegal or violent treatment ; but it may surely also be equally useful as a caution to subjects, not, by intemperate language, to provoke or irritate their sovereigns in their seeking redress of real or imaginary grievances : both carried beyond a certain point, must produce

irreconcilableness, terminating in intestine commotion and war, and in final revolution and confusion.

His (Cromwell's) reasons for his determination of the Long Parliament, and, in consequence, the republican form of government, and the circumstances that led to it are before given. The measure was self-defensive ; he had no alternative but to submit to the government of the presbyterian republic, which, both civil and religious, he detested, and who certainly would have availed themselves of the first opportunity to rid themselves of him and the other chiefs of the independent party ; or to take upon himself the government of the country, which he had an equal right with them to do, in the absence of monarchy.

The republican government itself was, as has been observed, an usurpation upon the monarchy ; the House of Commons, immediately after the king's death, took upon themselves to determine the House of Peers to be useless and dangerous, and upon the abolition of the kingly office, as unnecessary, burdensome, and dangerous to the liberty, safety, and public interest of the nation ; and reduced the government to a commonwealth. All this appears to have been accomplished by a small number of the Commons' House. The whole House, had all the members been present, even with the concurrence of the House of Lords, had no right to change the form of government ; they came together as one branch only, of a constitution composed of the three estates of King, Lords, and Commons ; and it is conceived they could not alter that form without resorting to the people for fresh specific powers. It is very generally admitted, that they had greatly abused their power, and which they were in the act of continuing and perpetuating at the moment of their dissolution. Cromwell felt himself of sufficient strength to put an end to this tyrannical government ; and, to the satisfaction of the nation, who were tired of them, accomplished it with no more force than was necessary to the occasion, and without bloodshed.

Cromwell, thus circumstanced, had no other alternative than to assume the supreme power, or to let the nation return to its republican government ; and surely, his mixed monarchical form was most consonant to the habits and dispositions of the nation, which suffered

suffered no inconvenience from it; on the contrary, was, by his great talents and magnanimity, raised to the highest point of prosperity and renown, both at home and abroad, as universally allowed by his greatest enemies. The reader is aware that he is accused of creating necessities for the purpose of bringing about his various designs; but, in one of his speeches to his parliament, he solemnly declares, not only to that assembly, but to the world, that the man lived not that could come to him, and charge him, that he had, in those great revolutions, made necessities.

Rapin, at the conclusion of his history of Cromwell's protectorate, observes, that to form a just and rational idea of his character, his conduct and actions in themselves must be examined, and joined to the juncture of the time, independently of the opinions of his enemies.

Cromwell had no want of panegyrists to celebrate his memory; but they meanly and contemptibly turned round with the times, and then, most disgrace-

fully to themselves, equally vilified and abused it.

No one, after the Restoration, durst come forward to do justice to his character, of the many who, though his enemies, had experienced his lenity and kindness, nor any one of those who owed to him all their consequence; and he was not present to answer for himself. Every circumstance and anecdote of his life, both public and private, has been, without examination of its truth or falsehood, assiduously brought forward, uncontradicted or unexplained, and implicitly received and distorted in every imaginable way, for the purpose of defaming his memory: whence originated all the obloquy under which it has been handed down, in some degree, even to the present times.

PUBLIC FINANCES.

Thursday, April 7, 1659. A report from the committee, appointed to inspect the accounts of the public revenue, with the ordinary expense of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, for one year; with a state of the public debts:

	£.	s.	d.
The income of England, is stated to be	1,517,274	17	1
Scotland,	143,652	11	11
Ireland,	207,790	0	0
The whole issues of England, for a year	1,547,788	4	4½
Scotland,	307,971	12	8½
Ireland,	346,480	18	3
The annual income of England, Scotland, and Ireland, is	1,868,717	9	0
Issues of do.	2,201,540	15	4
The whole of the public debt	£2,474,290.		
The balance is	£332,823	6	4

PROVISION FOR RICHARD.

Saturday, July 16. Colonel John Jones reported from the committee for considering of a comfortable and honourable subsistence on Richard Cromwell. —That his present clear yearly revenue, amounting to 1299*l.* over and above the jointure therein mentioned, be made up to him 10,000*l.* per annum, during his life. Lands of inheritance of 5000*l.* per annum value, to be settled upon him and his heirs, and thereupon 5000*l.*, part of the sum making up the 10,000*l.*, to be abated; and as the jointures should fall in, the sum making up the 10,000*l.* to abate in proportion. —The debt undertaken to be paid by parliament to be satisfied by sale of the plate, hangings, &c. of Whitehall and Hampton Court.

RICHARD.

His memory has been treated with the greatest ridicule and contempt, and even scurrility, for his supposed abjectness of spirit in this his quiet resignation of the exalted situation in which his father's great talents had placed him: but had he possessed the spirit and abilities of his father, it does not seem possible that he could have kept it. Lord Broghill, it has been seen, allows, that he could not resist the army's determination to ruin him, and can give him no other advice than to endeavour the restoration of the king. This, at that time, was impossible; the nation was not prepared for this great change, nor would the army have supported him. Even Monck, with an army at his command, durst not openly declare himself, and not till he must have had rea-

son to apprehend that the restoration would be accomplished without him. If he really had, long before the avowal of his intention, determined upon this measure, he must have been guilty, according to Ludlow, of the grossest dissimulation and falsehood, in his solemn declarations to the last moment, to the contrary,—of his determination to live and die with Ludlow for a commonwealth; that he would join with him and his party against Charles Stuart and his party; that he would oppose to the utmost the setting up of Charles Stuart, a single person, or a House of Peers; that those that brought the king to the block acted justly.

Oliver Cromwell's death let loose Fleetwood, Ludlow, Disbrow, and many others, to follow their several ambitious views, who durst not, during his life, look him in the face; he knew them well; they appear to have been men of inferior talents incapable of great enterprise. Ludlow lived to have the opportunity of writing his own memoirs; he sickens his readers by the account of himself and his own little exploits, upon which he dwells with much self-complacent minuteness. He appears to have been a mortal foe to regal government, and never forgives, nor ceases to abuse Cromwell, for extinguishing his favourite republic.

Had Richard mounted his horse, and placed himself at the head of those soldiers who might have been disposed to follow him, as he is said to have been advised, he could have done nothing effectual against the rest of the army, commanded as it would have been by veteran experienced officers; the attempt would have involved the nation in another civil war, more sanguinary and more destructive than the former, as being carried on by a great variety of contending parties; and must have made way for the final victory of the royal party over all of them, and have produced the restoration of the king as a conqueror, upon his own terms. His quiet abdication, however contemptuously spoken of, merited his country's thanks.

He appears to have been of a mild and merciful disposition; and his disapprobation of violent measures for the maintenance of his situation, which must, under all the forestated circumstances, have been finally unsuccessful, has been construed a want of spirit and personal courage. Not having been bred a soldier, he had no

opportunity of showing a military spirit or courage; he appears to have spent much of his time as a country gentleman, which he might do without imputation of his understanding, and certainly not of his courage, which is required in a certain degree in country sports. It may be a trifling circumstance to mention, only as it may be used to show that he had a degree of hardihood; that in the keen pursuit of his favourite amusement of hawking, Mr. Noble says, from Heath's Chronicle, through excess of eagerness in the sport he out-rode his retinue; and his horse, by leaping, threw him into a ditch, from which he was extricated by a countryman before his attendants could come up. This was not the act of a timid character; and his firmness and resolution are sufficiently evidenced in his conduct towards the council of officers, and other instances previously to his resignation.

HIS SUBSEQUENT LIFE.

Some difference appears between Lord Clarendon's and Mr. Noble's accounts of Richard's place of residence upon his arrival upon the Continent.—His lordship describes him as first residing at Paris some years, and thence going to and residing at Geneva, and the supposed interview with the Prince of Conti as happening in his way thither.—Mr. Noble describes him as first going to and residing at Geneva, but as not long remaining there, for reasons he supposes, and then residing at Paris, as Lord Clarendon relates; where he remained, (except, says Mr. Noble, another short interval spent at Geneva, for the same reasons as occasioned his going there before,) until his return to England about the year 1680. Both these accounts cannot be accurate; but the variations are immaterial, nor is it important to ascertain his disposal of himself in the interval of the time of his quitting the kingdom and his return. His (Richard's) letters remaining amongst the family papers, are numerous; they are principally written to his daughters; they are expressed in terms of the most parental affection, nevertheless at times seemingly disapproving their management of the family estates; but no appearance of their unfeeling behaviour towards him described by some writers. A family suit appears to have been depending in 1706; but the story of his personal appearance in court, seems quite improbable, it being unlikely to be necessary,

sary, and unless absolutely so, not likely, from his determined retirement, to happen.

The first of his letters to his daughters, remaining with the family papers, is dated in 1687. The following is a letter addressed by him to his daughter Ann Cromwell, at Hursley, who afterwards married Dr. Thomas Gibson, physician-general of the army; it is dated 18th December, 1690:—"Deare, thinck not I forgot you, though I confess I have been silent too long in returning & owning of that of yours to me; that w^{ch} was one barr, I knew not upon Mrs. Abbott's removing, how to send soe as my letter might come safe to you; and though we write nothing of state affaires, they being above our providentiall spheer, yet I am not willing to be expos'd, nor can there be that freedome when we are thoughtfull of such restraint as a peeping ey. The hand by whom this comes gave me a hint, as if there were some foule play to letters directed to him. Deare heart I thanck thee for thy kind and tender expressions to me, and I assure (if there had been cause) they would have melted me; there is a great deale of pittie, piety, and love, (what I had before was soe full, that I had not the least roome to turne a thought or surmise,) but what shall I say, my heart was full, but now it overflows; you have put joy and gladness in it. How unworthy am I to have such a child, and I know I may venture to say, that the like parralell is not to be found: what I said was experienced matter for information; what you replied was in behalfe of those whoe profest themselves to be the Lord's people, and they that are truly such, are as tender as the apple of his ey. I rejoyce in that we both of us love them, yet we are not to deny our reasons as to the mischiefe some of them hath been instrumentall, not only in particular to a family, but in generall to the church of Christ, besides what woes are hanging over these nations, may we not goe further, and bring in all Christendom. I have been alone 30^{ty} years, bannished, and under silence, and my strength and safty is to be retyred, quiet, and silent, we are foolish in taking our cause out of the hand of God. Our Saviour will plead, and God will doe right he hath promised; let us joyne our prayers for faith and patience; if we have heaven, let whose will get the world: my hearty, hearty, hearty affections and love to your sister and self. Salute all friends. I rest commending

ye to the blessings of the Almighty; againe fairwell.

"Your truly loving father,
"R. C."

"Present me to all friends; landlord and landlady present respects and service."

None of his letters are dated from any place. In the above postscript he speaks of landlord and landlady, which must mean the (afterwards) chief Baron Pengelly and his wife; and in a letter dated 1st December, 1691, he refers to a box not arrived, suggesting the mistake to be in the messenger demanding it in the name of Clark, when it should have been Pengelly, which seems sufficiently to prove his residence with the Pengellys, and his adoption of the name of Clark. And the following letter, dated the 25th August, 1705, written by Mrs. Pengelly to Mr. George Gibson, appearing to be Dr. Gibson's son, confirms the fact of this name and residence. The place whence it is dated is torn off.—
"Mr. Gibson; Mr. Clarke received y^rs with the inclosed from Hursley, w^{ch} upon his reading of it, and consideration on his pillow, he called for me, and desired me to write two or three lines to you, he not being stirring, that he could not so well answer yours by pen, as by discoursing wth you about the affair, so desires you would meet him on Monday afternoone, about three o'clock, at the Blew Bell at Edmonton, that Blew Bell that is next us heare, wheare you maye have opportunity to discourse things fully: he desirs you wold get a hors, he will pay for it: the gentleman is pretty well, and I hope will be better; we endeavour to divert him; I should have wrote to mad^m at Hursley, but hope y^rs by Tuesday's post, will answer wth our servis to the doctor, is all at present from,

"Yor loveing friend;
"RACHELL PENGELLY."

"Please to call of my son and ask him how he doth, and if he have any thing to me."

It may be thought unnecessary to dwell so long upon these circumstances, but the historians of those times having deemed them worthy of attention, it becomes desirable to rectify, from authentic documents, any doubts or mistakes into which they may have fallen. Richard's signatures to these letters are generally "C. R." reversing the initials of his name; sometimes "Richardson," sometimes

sometimes "Crandbourne,"—"Cranbury,"—"Cranmoore."

Mr. Noble speaks of Richard's known gallantry, and supposes Serjeant Pengelly, afterwards Sir Thomas, chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer, from his alleged uncommon zeal for him as his client in the probably forementioned suit, and for some other reasons, now he says unknown, to have been his natural son. He does not give his authorities for this supposed gallantry of Richard, nor is it known to have been believed in the family. His letters are of a devotional turn. Mr. Neal, in his History of the Puritans, says of him, that in his younger years he had not at all that zeal for religion as was the fashion of the times, but that those who knew him well in the latter part of his life had assured him (Mr. Neal) that he was a perfect gentleman in his behaviour; well acquainted with public affairs; of great gravity, and real piety: but so very modest, that he would not be distinguished or known by any name but the feigned one, of Mr. Clarke. He was born in 1626, and married in 1649, he was therefore only twenty-three years of age at the time of his marriage, and the treaty for the marriage appears to have commenced in 1647; not leaving him much time for gallantry: nor does his father in his letters complain of his conduct in any respect, but those of disinclination to public business, and a too expensive mode of living. The presumption, therefore, seems to be, that he never was a dissolute character.

He died in the year 1712, in the 86th year of his age, in, as is said, and as is probable, Serjeant Pengelly's house at Cheshunt, understood to be the house next the church, called the rectory-house, and was buried in the chancel of the church of Hursley, in Hampshire.

Of the private character of the rest of Oliver Cromwell's children; Mr. Noble says, that the author of the History of England, during the reigns of the Stuarts, assures us, that all the protector's daughters were admired, beloved, and esteemed for their beauty, virtue, and good sense; and he (Mr. Noble) adds, that they were all of them attached to the royal family except the eldest, (Mrs. Ireton, afterwards Fleetwood,) who was a severe republican.

FATE OF THE FAMILY.

The Restoration must have placed the Cromwell family in a state of the most painful suspense, particularly Richard and Henry. The king's declaration from Breda promises a free and general pardon

to all, who should within forty days after its publication lay hold thereon, and should, by any public act, declare their so doing, and their return to the loyalty and obedience of good subjects, excepting such persons as should thereafter be excepted by parliament. This exception left them, Richard and Henry, at the mercy of the parliament, the majority of which appear to have been presbyterians, consequently inveterate enemies of Cromwell and his family. The king and his advisers must have been well aware of their advantage in this exception, which might be extended to every person obnoxious to the king or to his ministers, leaving the odium of its exercise upon the parliament; who appear to have used it freely. Neither Richard nor Henry were among those that were excepted in the act of pardon and oblivion, afterwards passed;—they had no concern in the king's death. Richard probably owed his safety to his not having been concerned in any of the public transactions of the preceding times, except his assumption of the protectorate. Henry may be considered as obtaining the benefit of the act, through the intercession of his numerous and powerful friends of the royal party, many of whom were under various obligations to him in the exercise of his public capacity. This will, in some degree, be seen by the following papers remaining with his family.

In Henry Cromwell's petition to the king, a draught whereof is amongst these papers, he declares his hearty acquiescence in the providence of God in restoring his Majesty to his government: that all his actings had been without malice to his Majesty's person or interest: that he did, all the time of his power in Ireland, study to preserve the peace, plenty, and splendour of that kingdom; encouraging a learned and orthodox ministry; giving, not only protection, but maintenance, to several bishops there; placed worthy persons in the seats of judicature, and magistracy; and was (to his own great prejudice) upon all occasions favourable to his Majesty's professed friends. He therefore prays his Majesty's clemency; offering to his consideration, his loss of 2000*l.* per annum, which he held in England, and in consideration whereof, his wife's portion was paid to his late father, and therefore praying his Majesty's grant for such lands in Ireland (then already in his possession upon a common account with many others) as should by law be adjudged forfeited, and in his Majesty's disposal. And

And that, forasmuch as he had laid out near 6000*l.* upon the premises, his Majesty would recommend him to the parliament in Ireland to deal favourably with him concerning the same, and answerable to his deportment in that nation. Upon the back of this draught, is one of a declaration of his Majesty's loyal and faithful subjects residing in Ireland, who had been eye-witnesses of Colonel Henry Cromwell's behaviour in Ireland during the time of his power there; that he never, to their knowledge, expressed any malice against his Majesty's person or interest; that he suffered much from the fanatic and sectarian party; that he did countenance the known laws of the land and discipline of the church, place men of sobriety and good repute in the several offices of the nation; did not only protect, but also allow maintenance, to the several bishops remaining in Ireland, and was the only refuge and support of his Majesty's professed friends. In consideration of all which, and to express their gratitude to him for the kindness they had received from him, they recommend him to his Majesty's grace and favour.

The following are two original letters to Henry Cromwell from General Monck. The first is addressed "To the right noble the Lord Henry Cromwell, these,—At Sir Francis Russell's house, in Chipnam in Cambridgeshire, near Newmarket." It is dated Cockpitt, 3 June, 1660.

"My Lord;—I received your *lp's* letter of the 30th of May.—And for those lands wh^{ch} yor *lp's* father settled on you upon your marriage, being lands given in satisfaction of arrears, there will bee little doubt but you will possess and enjoye them. But what was conferr'd by gift may be in some hazard. I shall be ready to doe yor *lp* what service I can, and remaine yor *lp's* most humble servant,
"GEORGE MONCK."

The other of these letters is dated Cockpitt, 9th June, 1660, and addressed "For the noble Col. Henry Cromwell, these,—att Sir Francis Russell's, att Chippenham, Cambridgeshire.—S^r I rec^d yo^r, and as to yo^r coming uppe, I thinke itt will not bee yett convenient, butt when itt is seasonable I shall acquaint you with itt, w^{ch} is all att p^{re}sent from yor very loving friend and serv^t.

"G. MONCK."

These letters appear to be signed, but not to be written by General Monck.

A certificate, signed E. Manchester, by G. Carterett, Anglesea, Denzill Hollis, dated Whitehall, 25th of March
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1661, addressed to his Royal Highness, (presume the Duke of York:—) That they had examined the pretensions of Henry Cromwell to certain lands by him possest in Ireland, and were satisfied that part thereof was in satisfaction of his owne personall arrears, and part in satisfaction of his late father's arrears; and that, in case his said father's were a chattell and personal estate, that then the said debentures were not forfeited as not possest by Oliver Cromwell at the tyme of his death: on the other side, that if the said debentures were reall estate, and of the nature of lands, then wee think itt necessary that the said Henry Cromwell, to maintaine his right, should prove that the said debentures were made over unto him for a valuable consideration: it having onely bin alledged, that 4000*l.* was paid for Oliver's pretences to the said lands amongst other things, by Sir Francis Russell, upon the marriage of his daughter to the said Henry Cromwell.

On another side of the same paper is a declaration, dated Munday, the 7th day of April (1662,) by his Royall Highness and the commissioners for managing of his revenue.

That upon consideration of the petition of Sir William Russell and others, purchasers of certain lands in Ireland theretofore, by the pretended powers sett out to Henry Cromwell, in satisfaction of his and Oliver Cromwell's arrears: and upon perusal of his Majesty's gracious declaration for the settling of the kingdom of Ireland, his Royal Highness was satisfied that the said lands were comprehended within the intention of the said declaration to be enjoyed by the present possessors thereof, notwithstanding the act of attainder; and therefore was content that a provisoe should be brought in (to the bill for settling the affaires of Ireland) for the saving and reserving of the said lands unto the present possessors. (Signed by Charles Porter, clerke of his Royall Highness's Council.)

And on another side is a copy of a clause in an act of parliament, (presume the Irish parliament, the title or year of the reign not given,) enacting that all the lands, &c. in the baronies of Dunboyne and Ratooth, and county of Meath, whereof Henry Cromwell was, by himselfe, his tenants or assignes possessed, the 7th of May (1659,) bee settled and confirmed unto Sir William Russell, of Langhorne, baronett and doctor Jonathan Goddard, their heirs and assignes forever; and that the lands, &c. lying in

the province of Connaught, whereof the said Henry Cromwell was in like manner possest on the said 7th of May, be settled upon and confirmed unto John Russell, of Chippenham, esq. his heirs and assigns for ever, to be held upon terms of his Majesty's declaration of the 30th of November (1660;) and that 850*l.* be satisfied unto the said John Russell as an adventure, in such manner as by the same act was appointed in the case of any other adventurers.

The above Sir William Russell and John Russell were trustees for Henry Cromwell; but the family appear, by a statement amongst the family papers, to have been afterwards illegally disposed of these estates by some of the then Clanrickard family, whose ancestor, Ulick Burke, is stated to have been proprietor thereof in the year 1641, and as being general of the rebels in the Irish rebellion, and by act of parliament attainted, and his estates forfeited. This statement describes the heir of the above Ulick Burke as having been illegally restored to these estates, and that the then Earl of Clanrickard was in actual rebellion against the then King William and Queen Mary; and the object of the statement is an application to their Ma-

jesties on behalf of Henry Cromwell's son for the restoration to him of these estates. No further proceedings therein appear; but the Cromwell family according to this statement, seem to have been unfairly deprived of this property.

A licence was granted in February, (1664-5,) signed by the Earls of Manchester and Anglesea, and Lord Ashley, to Henry Cromwell, to visit London for twenty-one days: and another by the Earl of Suffolk, as Lord-lieutenant for the counties of Suffolk and Cambridge, dated 12th October (1665,) permitting him to visit his relations at Newmarket and Chippenham.

Henry appears, in a statement amongst the family papers, to have purchased, in 1661, in the names of two trustees, Sir Thomas Chicheley and Sir John Trevor, an estate called Spinney-abbey, in the parish of Wicken, near Soham, in Cambridgeshire, of between five and six hundred pounds per annum, where he resided the remainder of his life, and died 23d March (1673,) in the 47th year of his age. Mr. Noble, from the Nonconformist Memorial, says, that he conformed to the church of England, and in that communion died.

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